[Introductory, P. iii;]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

000 marriage exchanges with other groups.

The weakness of kinship[1]

Few institutions promote solidarity between the local lineages of a village on the one hand and between allied villages on the other. Consanguineal kinship ties are weak; so weak, that the most bitter fighting usually takes place between villages comprised of closely related kinsmen. The roles of leaders are poorly defined, and headmen can rarely reconcile dissident factions within their own villages. Moreover, there are a number of factors constantly threatening the stability of local groups, and these factors likewise weaken political relationships between allied villages. Within villages fighting frequently breaks out over food thefts and over sexual liaisons. In the latter case the fighting takes the form of dueling with clubs, and usually the result is that the village splits; one of the factions establishes a garden elsewhere and becomes an independent village. As the histories of selected villages will show (see below, Chapter 5), the settlement pattern of Yanomamö villages is cyclical; it results from the splitting of larger villages, the renewed growth of the splinter groups into large villages, followed by recurrent splitting and growth ad infinitum. Kinship as a medium for promoting solidarity within villages loses its efficacy when villages

[1] It is difficult to discuss each variable affecting marriage alliances as operating by itself, for they are intimately interconnected, and I list them separately only to point out their major features.

attain a certain size; beyond this point the causes of internal fighting are too numerous for peace to be maintained effectively by kinship ties, and the village breaks up into smaller, more cohesive units. This affects the degree to which deviations from the marriage norm occur: first, the female cross-cousins of an eligible bachelor are usually in villages that are hostile to his own, and he is obliged to seek a spouse in another, currently friendly, village. Secondly, as his own village is now more vulnerable because of its small size, some of its eligible females must be given to men in other villages in order to promote military alliances.

Village size and demography

The significance of demographic data has only recently received recognition in analyses of social systems. The importance of such data in the analysis of marriage practices has been most tellingly illustrated by F. G. Rose's study of the Groote Eylandt Aborigines (1960). Rose was able to show that where men marry women who are considerably younger than themselves, two important consequences follow: primary marriages with father's sister's daughter is effectively prevented, as is the practice of sister exchange.

Similarly, Ackerman (1964), in a critique of Needham's analysis of Purum marriage, showed that demography-dependent data such as frequency of 'marriage acts' (ibid., p. 60) do not support Needham's contention that the Purum

121 have a prescriptive marriage system. What the Purum say they do and what they actually do are two distinct things.

*621 578 922 As I mentioned above, after Yanomamö villages reach a certain, critical size, they tend to fragment into smaller groups. The internal tensions that promote this instability are to some extent offset by external military pressures: members of a faction within a larger village may want to establish their own independent village to avoid club-fighting and to suppress more severe forms of violence; but if their village is being raided by members of other villages, [741] it may be impossible for them to do so. Occasionally a village splits into several factions, each establishing its own garden apart from the other, but the factions are forced *621 *628 722 583 582 918 to reunite because of raids mounted by other groups. Generally, the process of village splitting precludes a later recombination of the same factions because these remain hostile to each other. Thus, the small, vulnerable villages • [602] that result from the fragmentation of a larger village are constrained to make marriage alliances with other villages, both to insure military assistance and because it is difficult to obtain women from their kinsmen with whom they are now at war. Village size and the balance of marriage exchanges between villages indicate that numerically weak villages are *621 *628 722 583 582 438 coerced by their stronger partners to give up women. In some cases, the disposition of desirable trade goods may affect the balance in the exchange of women between two villages. In general it may be said that, when one village

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yanomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

duel. Such a duel functions to remind the allies that the host is strong and willing to display his strength to protect his sovereignty.

The practical effect of this kind of behavior is that the solidarity of political alliances is constantly threatened. Allies are always suspicious of each other's intentions, and political ties between them are tenuous.

Although the giving of women in marriage between allies serves to promote solidarity, the capacity for marriage to achieve this end in itself is limited by the constant displays of hostility and aggressiveness by both groups.

The display of ferocity is manifest at the local, village level also. No insult is too slight to go unnoticed and unchallenged. Indeed, most individuals seize upon these opportunities to display strength. Thus, a legitimate way for men to display aggressiveness is for them to beat their errant wives, to burn them with fire brands, to cut their arms and legs with machetes or to shoot them in a non-vital part of the body with a barbed arrow. Men constantly intimidate their wives and respond cruelly to the slightest provocations, such as the wife's failure to act quickly on a husband's demand for food. Men who are brutal to their wives are feared and respected by other men, for the implication of this behavior is that the man will behave equally fiercely if insulted by another man.

Men often prefer to have a wife from another village, upon whom it is easier--and safer--to vent ferocity and

cruel actions; that is, the extent to which husbands are brutal to their wives is largely a function of the number of kinsmen the women have within the village, particularly brothers. Some men have even killed their wives in fits of rage, but in all the cases for which I have complete data, the women came from other villages and had no kinsmen in their husband's village to protect them. Conversely, when women have brothers within the village, their husbands exercise restraint in their treatment of them, knowing that the brothers of the women will use force to defend them. It is not unusual for a man to take his sister away from a cruel husband and to give her to someone else; this inevitably leads to club-fighting and frequently causes the village to split.

Ideological considerations, therefore, promote friction and fighting within villages and lead to village splits; and, the newly formed factions are obliged to seek marriage alliances with other groups.

Economic practices

Local groups abandon residential and horticultural sites only when forced to do so by the raiding pattern of their enemies. For the most part, the Yąnomamö are able to predict the hostilities that will force them to abandon their gardens, and they plan accordingly. The first act of a war is frequently the clearing of a new garden at some distance from the presently occupied site. If hostilities develop within the village and it is expected that these will

which is tied a bundle of feathers.[1]

Besides shamans, of which there are several in every village, there are influential 'big men.' The number of big men in a village depends, on the one hand, on the size of the village and the number of local patrilineages comprising it, and, on the other, on the number of men who are personally qualified to lead. The qualities that determine leadership are personal courage, fierceness, the ability to be outraged by even the slightest insult, marksmanship, diplomacy in trading with representatives from other villages, the ability to arrange marriages for male supporters with females from other villages, cunning and intelligence in dealings with allies, the ability to attract young men to live permanently in the village by promising them wives, and the defense of group members who get into difficulties with other village members.

Individuals who possess all these attributes are considered leaders only if they have a large natural following, i.e., brothers and sons living with them in their village. Otherwise, such men have only just a little more

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[1] To give a more comparative statement on the poverty of Yąnomamö culture, they possess only 11 traits of the 354 listed in the 4th edition of Carneiro and Tobias' "Trait List to be Used for the Study of Cultural Evolution by Means of Scale Analysis," (1963, mimeograph). By contrast, the Siriono have 8, the Andamanese 10, the Jivaro 22, the Nuer 28, the Siuai 39, the Iroquois 64, the Bemba 100 and the Tahitians 140. (Carneiro and Tobias, 1963:201.) In the classification developed by E. R. Service (1962), the Yąnomamö are "tribal."

613 421 [542] associated with control over real property in most tribal societies. Among the Yąnomamö the corporate estate consists of rights in disposing of females; property does not play any role in the functioning of the descent group.

613 602 562 584 The relationship between males in regulating the disposition of the descent group's women is ambiguous, for their rights in particular women vary, largely with genealogical distance and the size of the descent group in question. And, rights in women are intangible. Thus, local descent groups[1] among the Yąnomamö, despite the fact that they are corporate, are not cohesive, solidary units because of the ambiguous way male members are related to each other.

613 *62 [614] [616] Patrilineal descent is virtually non-functional outside the local descent group. There are no corporate descent groups other than those that exist at the village level, i.e., the Yąnomamö do not have clans or moieties. Hence, agnates not only enter into competition with each other because of the nature of their rights in the women of their group, there are no other institutions based on agnatic descent that promote amity and solidarity among them.

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[1] "The core of such a group is composed of the adult <u>males</u> of a kin group all resident in one place . . . the corporate group of persons who have the most decisive say in bringing about an arranged marriage is always a group of co-resident males representing, as a rule, three genealogical generations, namely: the old men or grandfathers, the normal adults or fathers, and the young adults or sons." E. R. Leach, 1963:56. Among the Yąnomamö, the generation of grand- [603] fathers is only rarely represented in the local descent group.

613 In addition to genealogical distance and size of
162 descent groups, demographic factors promote ambiguity in the relationships between males within a local descent group. For reasons of differential fertility, infanticide, warfare mortality, or chance, some local descent groups are larger than others (contain more males) and are, therefore, more powerful. Others may be relatively large, but contain more females than males. Still others may be very small and contain either all males or
613 all females. Since Yanomamö kinship terminology is classificatory
601 (Iroquois), all agnatically related males of the same generation
602 call each other 'brother'; parallel cousins, no matter how remote genealogically, are not terminologically distinguished from brothers. Despite the terminological usage, relationships between such agnates varies considerably.

613 Problems of agnatic priority in the disposition of
602 females arise, for example, when a man with no actual brothers
*221 gives his daughters away in marriage. If he has sons, the
584 sons would prefer that the girls be given to members of other
582 local descent groups who are most likely able to reciprocate with women. As the father has no actual brothers, his more distant agnates put pressure on him to give the girls to a descent group to which they themselves are linked by marriage ties, for they stand to benefit by future reciprocities. Situations such as this arise when a single man finds himself in the same village with a group of agnates that are distantly related to him, but who themselves constitute an important political bloc within the village. Although the agnates are

613 his brothers, terminologically, they have more in common with
602 each other than they do with him. As he depends on them for
621 support within the village, he is under obligation to them
584 and can not take their suggestions lightly.[1]
582

621 Again, if there are two politically important descent
613 groups of the same lineage within a large village, and if
602 there are, in addition, a number of agnatically related
562 females not belonging unambiguously to either one, problems
584 arise over the disposition of the women; there will be
736 rivalry between the two descent groups concerning the marriages (or remarriages) of these women. Situations like these arise when the father and brothers of the women are killed in raids or die of other causes, or when the woman's first husband dies after her (deceased) agnates arranged her marriage. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, split into two villages, each led by members of the same lineage. They had been victimized by a Shamatari group which killed a large number of men during a treacherous feast. There were a number of women, consequently, who were ambiguously related to the surviving males of the Upper and Lower halves of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the descent groups in what is now Lower Bisaasi-tedi managed to gain the upper hand in the

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[583] [1]There seems to be a marked tendency for the daughters of such men to be given to men in other villages when alliances are made. I am unable to say, on the basis of my present data, whether such alliances are forced on these men by their agnates, or whether these men in fact prefer to dispose of their daughters in this way. This practice tends to keep such men more isolated from their agnates and prevents them from establishing strong affinal ties within the village.

613 *621 • 602 562 584 736

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 *621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 *628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

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[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yąnomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

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[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawë's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawë threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawë shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawë, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bëkotawë, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawë discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawë, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

602 of social organization,[1] and in analyses of particular societies.[2] It is not assumed here that the nature of the [114] social organization itself stems from the nature of the sentiments associated with particular dyadic kin ties, as was implied in Homans and Schneider's work (1955). Dyadic ties are a product of political, military, ideological and economic forces that shape Yąnomamö social organization, and reflect, rather than cause, that organization.

Of the large number of logically possible kinship dyads, only a few have structural relevance to this anal[illegible] In particular, ties between agnates and ties between brothers-in-law must be considered to render intelligible the mechanics of Yąnomamö social organization.

602 +621 578 Ties between distantly related agnates are the most ambiguous, and the ones that usually break when villages split. Conversely, ties between closely related agnates are strong and less likely to be severed in village splits.

607 Of the affinal ties, those linking brothers-in-law to each other are of the greatest structural importance and are often stronger than ties between distantly related agnates.

606 601 Secondarily, ties between a man and his son-in-law are strong, but have fewer structural consequences than either brother-in-law (shoriwë) or brother (aiwë, osheya) ties.

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[1] Levi-Strauss, 1963, Ch. 2; Needham, 1962, Ch. 2.

[2] Leach, 1957.

I. Marriage Ties

602 593 583 583 [609] Marriages bind the groups of the spouses to each other in a system of exchanges involving goods, services, and the promise to reciprocate women at a later date. Yąnomamö marriage is peculiar in that the ties between husband and wife are very weak, but that ties between a man and his sister's husband are strong. The significance of marriage as an institution that initiates (or continues) alliances between non-agnatic groups stems, therefore, from the nature of the ties that it creates between the male members of the allied groups.

593 Ties between spouses are usually very tenuous, due largely to the fact that men are constantly suspicious of their wives' motives whenever the women leave the village unescorted. Men always suspect their wives of infidelity, and will even beat them if there is the slightest suspicion that the women have been seeing other men. A certain amount of 839 593 trysting goes on in all villages, but it is more frequent and more easily accomplished in larger villages. Discovery of [578] liaisons by the cuckold inevitably leads to club fighting 593 between the factions of the lover and the husband. The woman 684 involved usually suffers more than either of the male principals in the fighting that follows, as women are severely punished by their husbands. The punishment usually consists of a beating with a club, but men frequently shoot their unfaithful wives with barbed arrows in a non-vital area of the body, such as the buttocks or leg. In one instance I witnessed,

*628 581 607 Affinal ties between villages, therefore, owe their ability to promote solidarity between the allies to the obligations, duties and trading relationships that marriages impose on brothers-in-law.

607 • 602 *621 591 Within villages, brothers-in-law have similar obligations to each other. The strength of the co-residential shoriwä ties, however, is influenced by other factors besides promises to exchange goods, women, and services. First, co-residence itself promotes a certain amount of amity between all classes of kin. Second, co-residential shoriwä are usually cognatically related because their respective agnatic groups have exchanged women in ascending generations, i.e., many of them are related to each other as MoBrSo or FaSiSo. So, in addition to mere promises to give women to each other, co-residential shoriwä ties are strengthened by ties of cognatic kinship and co-residence.

609 602 *621 613 582 584 The strength of the ties between co-residential shoriwä is best illustrated by contrasting it to the weakness of the agnatic tie between two local descent groups of the same lineage. In anticipation of the discussion of agnatic relationship, I will point out here that the political interests of local descent groups focus on acquisition of women from other descent groups within the village. When a village has two or more agnatically related descent groups, the men in these respective groups are de facto rivals for the women in the village. Simultaneously, these distantly related agnates are frequently competitors in the disposition of some female agnates who do not belong unambiguously to one or the other local descent groups.

000 groups. In a large village comprised of two large lineages,
*621 each having two or more local descent groups, the particular
613 local descent groups of each lineage will have stronger ties
• 602 with non-agnatic descent groups within that village than with
598 groups of distantly related agnates. When there are feuds within the village, the groups that have most in common with each other are those linked by affinal rather than agnatic ties, and these affinally linked groups stick together should the feud lead to a village split.[1] While the tie between
[607] closely related agnates is stronger than that between brothers-in-law, the latter are usually stronger than the ties between distantly related agnates.

606 Finally, the son-in-law tie complements the brother-
609 in-law tie in binding local descent groups to each other
*621 within villages. Older adult males of local descent groups
613 can depend on the support of brothers, brothers-in-law, and
578 sons-in-law in village feuds, more so than on the support of
582 distantly related agnates. In the competition for women, affines in a faction exchange women rather than compete for them; just the opposite is true of the relationships between distantly related agnates.

2. Agnatic ties

593 . One of the two most important consanguineal ties
*621 having structural concomitants among the Yanomamö is the tie between siblings of the opposite sex. These are not as

[128] [1]See Chapter IV for a detailed discussion of the structure of village factions.

884 personal names provides an adequate excuse to exhibit rage and ferocity.

593 521 Personal relationships between brothers, therefore, tends to be one of mutual respect and reserve when the brothers reach adulthood. Age, however, confers a certain amount of status in Yanomamö society, and an older man can command a younger adult brother to do tasks for him, provided their ages are considerably different. An older brother is expected to defend a young sibling in fights and assist him [583] [595] in obtaining a wife. A number of young men in Bisaasi-tedi obtained wives from polygynous older brothers. Young men, on the other hand, assist and support older brothers more willingly than they will a brother of similar age, as siblings of similar age deliberately demonstrate that they can not be bossed around by an equal.

*621 602 591 Co-residence influences the strength of the tie between distant agnates in some instances. If, for example, a man has no close agnates in a village but there is a group of more distantly related agnates, the man tends to be absorbed *[628] as an equal in that group. In fact, he may be affectively closer to his co-residential agnates despite genealogical distance than to close genealogical agnates who live in other *621 613 602 591 [622] villages. Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for example, is led by Kaobawä of the Sha lineage. All agnates in his following are at least one degree of blood removed from him[1] but they behave as if they were

[1] See Figure 3, "Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Chapter IV.

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kąobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kąobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Nadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kąobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kąobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kąobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

Kąobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kąobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602 asked Kaobawä what he had done about it. He said he had
613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
123
554 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
571 light, as Kaobawä could not force Shiimima to return it.
When I questioned Kaobawä about this ineffectiveness, he explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
629 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
574 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
351 Kaobawä usually goes to the center of the village and begins
554 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
591 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
561 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if Kaobawä requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this regard implies that one is being bossed around.

621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
613

593 agnates of similar age tend to compete, rather than cooperate,
602 with each other in the affairs of the group. Each behaves in
613 such a way that it is obvious to all that he is not being
*[621] bossed around by his equals. Finally, this competition and lack of solidarity is even more pronounced when there are two or more local descent groups of the same lineage within the village.

*621 Co-residence as a factor in promoting solidarity can
601 be illustrated by kinship usage. One of my female informants,
*628 Kaobawë's wife, used affinal terms for a number of Patanowë-
591 tedi men who were technically her agnates. I was certain
124 that my genalogies were correct, so I re-investigated the usage. I discovered that she used 'distant' kinship terms for these 'brothers' because they lived in a different village, but that she had called them by brother terms when they lived together in Patanowë-tedi. She explained that she would again use brother terms if the two villages were to re-unite. Although the terms for agnates normally do not change when a distant agnate joins a local descent group, the co-efficient of solidarity does.

*628 The weakness of the tie between distantly related
602 agnates can also be demonstrated with data on fighting. After
613 the Patanowë-tedi separated from the Bisaasi-tedi and the
726 Monou-tedi in the early '40s, hostilities between the two groups developed. Each group, however, was similar in composition[1] in that each comprised local descent groups of the

[1] See Figure 3, Chapter IV, and Appendix A for the breakdown of the populations of these villages by lineage membership.

628 602 613 726 same lineages. The warfare between the two groups, therefore, was largely a struggle between groups of distantly related agnates. Kɨobawɨ, the headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, participated in the raiding against the Patanowɨ-tedi. In one skirmish, he shot his classificatory brother, Rakoiwɨ, but Rakoiwɨ survived the wound. This man is as closely related to Kɨobawɨ as most of the men that presently constitute his agnatic following in Upper Bisaasi-tedi, again illustrating the significance of co-residence in determining the strength of the agnatic tie. Two young men from Patanowɨ-tedi recenlty joined the Bisaasi-tedi to obtain wives. After they arrived, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Patanowɨ-tedi resumed their old hostilities. The fathers-in-law of the two men recruited both of them into raiding parties that attacked the Patanowɨ-tedi, and both men participated willingly, despite the fact that their actual fathers and brothers live in Patanowɨ-tedi. One of the young men, Sirorowɨ, told me that he would have avoided shooting his own father (Yoyosiwɨ) and actual brothers, but would have shot more distant agnates.

628 726 602 607 622 That the brother-in-law tie is stronger than the tie between distantly related agnates is also illustrated in the history of a war between Mahekodo-tedi and Yabitawɨ-tedi. These two villages are led by men who are classificatory brothers. The war stated when a man from Boreta-tedi, a brother-in-law of the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, was killed by the Yabitawɨ-tedi headman in a club fight. As the slain man's sisters were married to the Mahekodo-tedi headman, the

latter felt obliged to revenge the man's death by raiding his classificatory brother's village.

Similar cases occur in internal village fighting. Hunobawë, an Upper Bisaasi-tedi man of some 60 years, gathered a stalk of bananas from his garden and hung them in the roof of his hut to ripen. His son, Dikawë, 18 years old, discovered the ripening bananas and ate a large number of them without the consent of his father. When Hunobawë discovered the loss, he went into a rage and attacked Dikawë with a club. Dikawë got his own club and began assailing the old man. This precipitated a general free-for-all in the village, as large numbers of men took one side or the other in the melee.

Club fights between historically related but separate villages also pit agnates against each other. When Bisaasi-tedi's Lower Group seized a girl that the Monou-tedi had abducted from the Patanowë-tedi, a club fight was arranged to settle the dispute. But, the most important factions in Monou-tedi and the two Bisaasi-tedi groups were local descent groups of the same lineage, and their headmen were classificatory brothers. Although the dispute and club fight ultimately involved all the able-bodied men of each village, the fight was initiated by distantly related agnatic groups of the same lineage.

Some dyadic kinship ties are more stable than others. It is not possible to say, however, that any one in particular is so inherently stable that fighting between such kinsmen can not occur. Certain kinds of violence, however, are not

602 likely to take place between agnates of a certain degree of
578 blood relationship, or between affines that are cognatically
593 related. While a father and son may club each other, it is not likely that the fight will escalate to spear thrusting or shooting with arrows. The same may be said of full brothers,
593 but with less conviction. That is, full brothers occasionally
*621 end up in different villages when a larger village splits,
*628 particularly if they are the only males in the sibship. Should
726 a war develop between the two villages, there is a possibility that they might kill each other in the raiding; it is not always possible, in Yąnomamö warfare tactics, to pick a victim out of a crowd of people, as the Yąnomamö occasionally shower a village with arrows in raids. Chances are that brothers would not deliberately kill each other, but the fact that one has a brother in an enemy village by no means constitutes sufficient reason to desist in raiding that village.

*621 Club fights within villages frequently pit close
602 agnates against each other, but when club fights escalate to
578 killing by spear thrust, it is not likely that such agnates
*628 will fight against each other. Distantly related agnates,
613 however, occasionally do fight against each other with the
726 intent to kill. Much of Yąnomamö warfare involved hostilities between villages that contain as the dominant political bloc local descent groups of the same lineage.

602 Perhaps the most important structural difference between agnatic and affinal ties is that the former tend to grow weaker as the kinsmen get older, whereas the latter are

602 capable of becoming stronger in time. When two descent groups
602 exchange women with each other over several generations, the
613 582 cognatically related members of the two groups have strong
582 583 ties with each other. Further exchanges between these groups
is largely a validation of the previously existing implicit
60 obligations to exchange women. MoBrSo is, whether or not you
582 marry his sister, a shoriwë. When the marriage rule is followed,
and it is a number of times each generation, the ties between
shoriwë are correspondingly strengthened by the exchange.
602 Agnatic ties do not have the potential of increasing in soli-
darity; the tendency seems, in fact, to be just the opposite.

602 The major components in the variation of the strength
561 of agnatic solidarity are genealogical closeness, relative
621 128 age, and co-residence. To provide a crude measure of the
591 relative importance of these variables, I have arbitrarily
assigned values to the components in Table 3. A strong tie
is scored as "***" and a weak tie as "---". By adding the
number of asterisks in each possible combination,
a rough measure of relative solidarity of agnatic type is
given. For example, agnates who are closely related genea-
logically (A_1: "***"), who differ significantly in age
(B_2: "***") and who live in the same village (C_1: "**-") rep-
resent a class of agnates having the greatest relative
solidarity. The sum of the asterisks for this combination
is 8.

In Table 3, combinations whose scores are 3 and 4
respectively constitute the class of agnates having the least

Table 3: Components of Agnatic Solidarity.

Genealogical		Age		Residence	
close	remote	similar	discrep.	same	different
A_1	A_2	B_1	B_2	C_1	C_2
•••	•—	•—	•••	••—	•—

Possible Combinations	Associated Value
$A_2B_1C_2$	3
$A_2B_1C_1$	4
$A_1B_1C_2$; $A_2B_2C_2$	5
$A_1B_1C_1$; $A_2B_2C_1$	6
$A_1B_2C_1$	7
$A_1B_2C_1$	8

amount of relative solidarity and are the groups most likely to enter into conflicts with each other. The combinations whose scores are 5 and 6 respectively potentially have more solidarity in the agnatic class, but the agnates represented by these combinations are ambiguously related to each other regarding rights in women. The combinations whose scores are 7 and 8 respectively characterize the groups of agnates have the strongest ties.[1]

[1] It will be noted that the combination whose score is 7 involves the component of non-co-residence, i.e., that the agnates are in different villages. This is a possibility when, for example, a man goes to another village to obtain a wife. Such possibilities also occur when members of two different villages trace their origin back to a common group but went to separate villages to obtain spouses, or ended up in separate villages when their common group split.

602 661 621 628 It is not easy to represent affinal ties in this fashion, as there are too many factors that determine the strength of the relationship between such kin types. A few observations, however, will provide a contrast with the analysis given in Table 3 above. Among affines, age differential is relatively meaningless so far as internal village stability and strength of inter-village alliance is concerned. [606] When the age differential corresponds to a difference in genealogical level, the affines, such as son-in-law, tend to be related by stable roles based on avoidance, bride service obligations, etc., but these derive not from age differential, [606] but from the generation difference. A son-in-law is subordinate to a father-in-law despite his age, and inter-personal behavior between such kinsmen is not greatly influenced by [591] age differentials. Second, co-residence is largely irrelevent unless it reflects cognatic ties that came about through previous marriages in ascending generations. Again, current political relationships between the two villages of the affines is important in determining the strength of the tie, or whether the affine intends to return to his own village. 628 621 602 583 Affinal ties do not necessarily imply previous historical relationships between the groups of the affines, whereas agnatic ties presume a common history. When members of two historically distinct villages enter into marriage alliances with each other, affinal ties between the respective villages are weaker than affinal ties between members of two villages that have a common history and have exchanged women in the

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwã tie between
*602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
613 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
823 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

823 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Makú; see Migliazza, 1965.

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CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE, AND SIZE

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A. Village Composition and Structure

This thesis deals specifically with Yąnomamö marriage alliances. However, village structure and the dynamics of village splitting must be discussed before alliances as such can be understood; we must comprehend the nature of the groups that ally themselves to each other before attempting to make sense of the 'alliances.' In many respects, the process of village splitting provides the circumstances under which alliances are both desirable and necessary, for the circumstances of village splitting usually result in military situations whose solutions are best effected by the creation of affinal (marriage) ties with new groups. Newly-established villages are usually militarily vulnerable because they are invariably small, and the members of such groups are constrained, by defense requirements, to enter into alliances with their new neighbors after they split from their agnates. In most instances, the agnates from whom small groups split are in fact the group posing the military threat.[1] Yąnomamö village dynamics over time (the process of village splitting and establishing alliances) is, therefore, a function of

[1] See Chapter V on the histories of particular villages.

*621 *628 • 602 121 182 internal feuding that promotes splitting, and threat of raids from other groups that inhibits village splitting and/or promotes the establishment of alliances with other groups. These two forces shape the composition and structure of Yąnomamö villages; that is, these two forces impinge on kinship relationships and together with these latter determine the nature of the Yąnomamö village.

*621 *628 722 I will show in Chapter V that larger villages fragment into smaller groups when internal feuding becomes particularly intense, but are occasionally forced to re-unite when warfare threatens the splinter groups. Yąnomamö villages would remain small if there were no military forces working on them. The Patanowë-tedi, for example, attempted to split into three groups after separating from the Bisaasi-tedi;[1] the three factions re-combined, however, when one of them was attacked by the Hasaböwë-tedi. Similarly, the non-Patanowë-tedi faction of the split (Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi) likewise split into smaller factions after the threat of raids from the outside subsided. Again, these recombined when threat of raids was imminent.

*621 582 Irrespective of the conditions of the splitting, the newly formed villages approximate a dual organization of inter-marrying moieties in structure. This form of organization is implicit in the Iroquois kinship terminology, sister [807] *621 exchange, and ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules. Dual

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[1] See Map C and Chapter V.

organization is only approximated, however, as an examination of the genealogies given in Appendix A will show. The smaller the village, the more conspicuous is the tendency for the composition to approach a moiety-like structure. Larger villages are more composite and may contain as many as four or five distinct lineage segments.[1]

The tendency for small villages to be characterized by two (and only two) dominant lineage segments, each linked to the other by marriage ties, recurs with sufficient frequency to permit me to use a simple dual organization model as the basis of the analysis of village structure. The model given in Figure 1 should be taken as only a heuristic devise in the discussion of Yąnomamö village structure that follows; the Yąnomamö do not conceive of their villages as being bifurcated into two groups, for in most instances they are not. And, small villages soon lose their moiety-like structure as they begin to include males and females from villages with which marriage ties are made.

The relationships between kin discussed in the previous chapter are all given in Figure 1. The adult males in Generation 1 exchange sisters[2] and are, therefore, related to each other as shoriwë (brother-in-law). This is a well-defined, stable, non-ambiguous relationship; the males in

[1] See Appendix A for a discussion of village composition. Details of one small village are given in the Appendix, but the composition by lineage is summarized for three other villages.

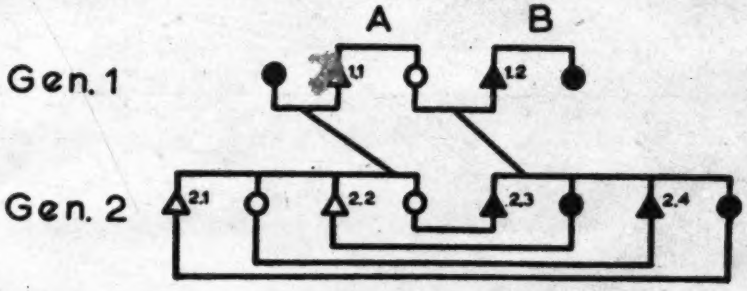
[2] In Figure 1, $A_{1.1}$'s wife is the sister of $B_{1.2}$.

602 607 582 583 Generation 1 have essentially solidary relationships to each other, at least in terms of the model.

The males of Generation 1 are related to the females [621] of that generation as either husband or brother. Ties between siblings of the opposite sex are affective and promote village solidarity.

613 602 Males of lineage A in the second generation are simultaneously sister's sons and daughter's husbands of male $B_{1.2}$, both relationships being conducive to solidarity. They are [583] bound to $B_{1.2}$ by affective ties and obligations to perform bride service. An analogous set of relationships binds the Generation 2, lineage B males to $A_{1.1}$. The males of both lineages in the second generation are related to each other as either brother or brother-in-law, both relationships being stable within the assumptions of this model (see below). The

[621] FIG. 1: Ideal Yanomamö Village Composition



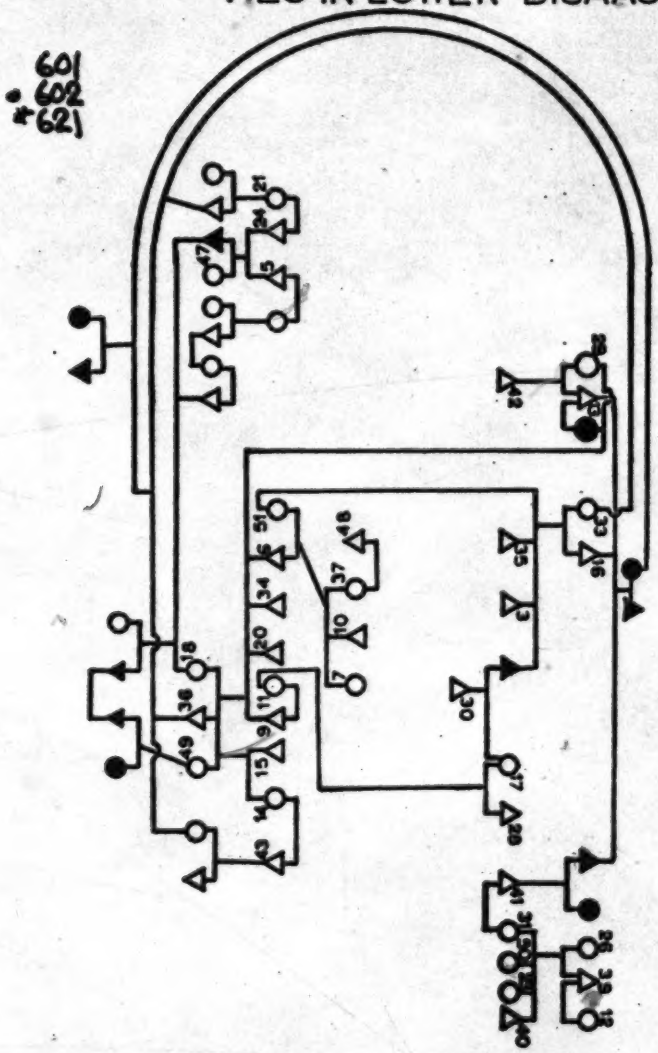
413
602 ties between males of opposite generations within each lineage, father and son, are stable and affective; in short, the males of the village are linked to each other by relationships that are non-ambiguous and essentially amicable. Similarly, the relationships between males and females between and within generations are, excepting the husband-wife tie, well-defined by the incest taboo and/or affective ties that contribute to the solidarity of the group.

128 Certain assumptions are made about the Yanomamö by reducing their social organization to a model of this sort. First, I have drawn the model with a sex-ratio of 1.0. Second, sibships are shown to be equal in size and identical in composition, i.e., each contains an equal number of males and females. Third, all individuals are married to a single person. Fourth, no deaths and remarriages have taken place. Fifth, the model does not specify whether or not any of the women are pregnant or nursing. Sixth, no military pressures from the outside are shown, nor are political commitments to cede women to allies. Seventh, all males are presumed to have similar political ability and do not compete for village leadership. The list of assumptions could be extended, but would not add to the point made by the seven already given: factors external to the model constantly impinge upon the relationships described in the model, causing the relationships to alter according to the stresses brought about by the external forces.

By adding a few more individuals to Generation 1 and

128 extending the model one more generation, maintaining the pattern already shown in the model, the numbers of individuals included in the new figure would approach the size of a small Yąnomamö village. But, by extending the model one generation, we begin to put stress on one of the relationships, the tie between agnates of the same age, if we simultaneously introduce additional factors such as a sex ratio greater than 1.0. I can illustrate the same stress in Figure 1 by assuming that polygyny occurs. Presume that individual $A_{2.1}$ is older than his brother and is given both of the daughters of $B_{1.2}$ for his wives. As individual $A_{2.2}$ gets older, he will have no sexual alternative but to seek liaisons with the wives of his older brother, as all other women in the diagram stand in incestuous relationship to him. In Figure 1 $A_{2.1}$ and $A_{2.2}$ are drawn as full brothers. When situations of this sort occur, the older brother may give one of his wives to the younger brother, or at least permit him to have sexual relationships with one of them until he procures his own wife. If, however, we extend Figure 1 by another generation and specify the same conditions in Generation 3, the males involved are one degree of relationship more remote from each other. Were we to introduce the factor of woman shortage in addition to polygyny, the rivalry between agnates for the women in Generation 3 would increase accordingly, and fighting would likely result: distantly related agnates of the same age are ambiguously related to each other regarding both the disposition of women and acquisition of women for spouses.

FIG. 2 FACTION STRUCTURE BY KINSHIP TIES IN LOWER BISAASI-TEDI



Faction A Faction B

128 that Lower Bisaasi-tedi approximates a dual organization of
*621 two intermarrying lineages, Sha and Tom.
613

162 There are two senses in which Lower Bisaasi-tedi is
*621 not representative of the typical Yąnomamö village: the sex
*628 ratio is nearly 1.0, i.e., there are about as many females as
562 there are males in the village, and the group is politically
583 stable and cohesive; not a single fight took place within this group during the 15 months of my field work. The sex ratio is explainable by several factors. First, the members of this village have been particularly successful in forcing their Shamatari allies to cede women to them while at the same time have managed to avoid reciprocating the exchanges. Secondly, a large Shamatari family from Mąmaribąwei-tedi recently took refuge in the village, a family that comprises
[529] two males and four females. Finally, many of the men killed
[504] in the 1950-51 treacherous feast were from this faction of
[726] Bisaasi-tedi.

*621 The solidarity of Lower Bisaasi-tedi stems from a
622 number of factors. First, all adult men are married. More
613 importantly, the core lineages (Sha and Tom) are linked to
• 602 each other in three generations by marriage ties, and the leader of this village, Reromawë, has astutely manipulated

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128 logy.) The Tom lineage is the dominant political group in a
*621 number of villages north of the Orinoco River in the vicinity
*628 of Maata-u (see Map B, Chapter II). These villages trace
613 their origins back to a single group (indicated as Husirawë-urihi-tedi on Map C, Chapter V) to which the members of Namowei-tedi were allied about 1900. All living members of the Tom lineage found today among the Namowei-tedi are in Bisaasi-tedi's lower village, where they constitute a major political bloc in the affairs of that group.

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absense of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Reromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Reromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbowë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Reromawë is getting old.

actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Shä and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

*621
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602 subordinate his potential competitors by the way in which he disposed of the women and/or their children.

*621
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582
583 There are a number of individuals in Lower Bisaasi-tedi who are not related agnatically to either the Sha or the Tom lineages. These individuals do not, however, constitute a political bloc; each is tied by marriage to the two lineages, and are therefore subordinate (by virtue of obligations to their wife-givers) to the members of that lineage. Most of these individuals are females, and do not represent a political factor in the affairs of the village. Some of them were abducted from Shamatari villages in the past, and a larger number of them were obtained in marriage alliances from other Shamatari recently. The six adult males of this non-agnatic group who might pose a threat to the stability of the village by making liaisons with married women are all married themselves. With the exception of two brothers, they are unrelated to each other. One of them is married to Reromawë's daughter, another is married to his son's daughter, and the two brothers (actual WiBrSo to Reromawë) are married, respectively, to Reromawë's classificatory son's daughter in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and will move there while he does his bride service, and a classificatory brother's daughter.[1] The remaining two men are in Faction B. One of these joined Reromawë's group before 1945 to get revenge against the

[1] This woman is one of the seven abducted by the Monou-tedi from the Patanowë-tedi and taken, in turn, by Reromawë's group from the Monou-tedi. Technically, then, Reromawë is her 'father' and the man to whom she was given is 'son-in-law' to Reromawë. See Chapter V.

*621 613 602 562 582 583 members of his own village, Hasaböwä-tedi, who killed his father. Reromawä's group was then actively raiding Hasaböwä-tedi. The man was given a wife in Reromawä's village, the widow of a Tom man killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast. The man's two daughters are married to Sha men.[1] The last man and his family joined Reromawä's group in 1965 to take refuge from his own villagers, the Mõmariböwei-tedi, some of whom wanted to take his wives away from him for being brutal. He had previously given a daughter to a Tom man and when he was forced to flee from his own village, took refuge with his son-in-law. Appendix A gives more details on each individual discussed above.

*628 582 583 Lower Bisaasi-tedi has political ties with a number of villages. It has recently (since 1960) entered into alliance with two Shamatari villages, Reyaboböwei-tedi and Mõmariböwei-tedi, and has managed to obtain a number of women from the latter village as wives for young bachelors in the group. *628 527 574 438 602 The Mõmariböwei-tedi visit them frequently to feast and trade, and the members of Lower Bisaasi-tedi reciprocate the visits. The ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and the Mõmariböwei-tedi are nearly as strong as the ties between Lower Bisaasi-tedi and any of its cognate villages to whose members the Lower Bisaasi-tedi are agnatically related. *628 602 Of the villages that are cognate to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi is perhaps the most dependable ally, because the

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[1] Reromawä's actual son, and Reromawä's classificatory son in Upper Bisaasi-tedi.

*628 Lower Bisaasi-tedi gave its members refuge during the times
• [602] when the Monou-tedi were threatened by raids from the Patanowä-
tedi. The closest neighbor, geographically, to Lower Bisaasi-
[361] [613] tedi is Upper Bisaasi-tedi (a mere 400 meters upstream), the
dominant political group of that village being a segment of
the Sha lineage. The two villages, however, behave quite in-
dependently in their alliance patterns. Lower Bisaasi-tedi's
political interests are in the Mömariböwei-tedi at the present
time, whereas Upper Bisaasi-tedi's interests are in the
*628 Reyaboböwei-tedi, Karohi-tedi, and Widokaiya-tedi. In the
726 war against the Patanowä-tedi, both the Lower and Upper
Bisaasi-tedi aid the Monou-tedi by providing warriors for the
raiding parties, and by giving refuge to the Monou-tedi when
raiding is particularly intense.

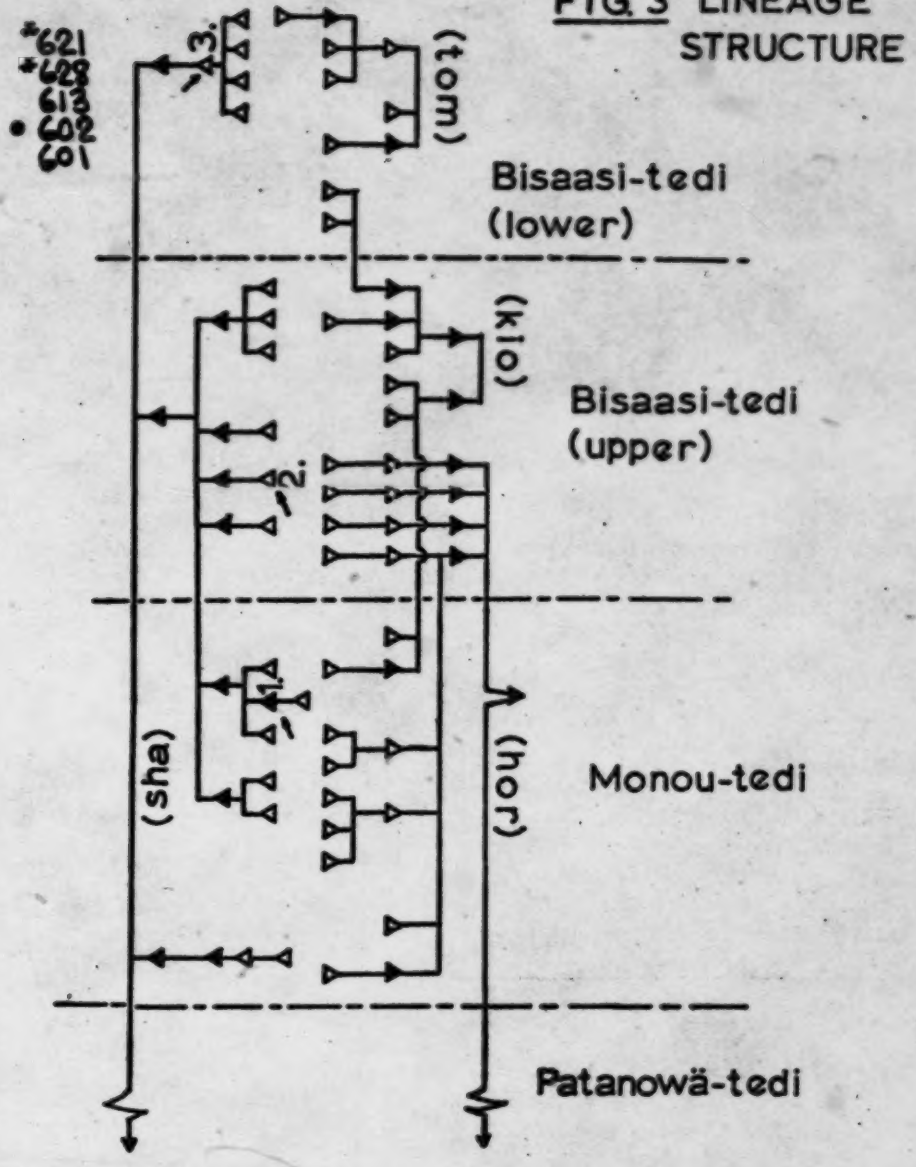
*621 Lower Bisaasi-tedi is a cohesive, well-integrated,
162 stable village. Much of the stability and cohesiveness de-
562 rives from the fact that there is not a shortage of women and
571 there are well-defined patterns of behavior for all members
*628 vis-à-vis others. But, Lower Bisaasi-tedi is not a militarily
722 viable group. It could not last long as an independent vil-
lage if the warfare situation became intense; the group is not
completely independent of the Upper Bisaasi-tedi village. At
least once during my field work the Lower Bisaasi-tedi group
coalesced with the Upper group when a raid from the Patanowä-
tedi seemed imminent. And, if raiding from the Patanowä-tedi
began, the group would have to merge with Upper Bisaasi-tedi
for defense purposes. When I began my field work in 1964,

*628 722 the Upper Bisaasi-tedi had a large village and two small villages. The two smaller villages were occupied by the two factions of the Upper group; the large village was unoccupied. It was used only when threat of raid existed, during which time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi re-joined their group and all moved into the large village. In 1965 the large village was rebuilt, but for the first time the Lower Bisaasi-tedi did not participate in the reconstruction of the common village. A few individuals who feared raids, however, did build a section in the village for themselves.

Lower Bisaasi-tedi, then, would re-unite with Upper Bisaasi-tedi in time of war, although each group pursues its own political ends and remains independent of the other in times of peace. One of the major reasons this is so can be explained in terms of the dyadic relationships discussed in [128] the last chapter. Figure 3 gives the simplified lineage structure of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, Lower Bisaasi-tedi, and *621 *628 578 Monou-tedi. These three villages were one in 1954; Monou-tedi split from the group to found their own village. In 1960 Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Lower Bisaasi-tedi split from each other, but remained geographically close to each other. The reasons given for the splits were that the groups were always fighting over women and, to reduce the frequency of club fighting, they simply parted before hostilities became intense. Even at the present time there is considerably more fighting in the village when the groups coalesce for defense [602] [622] purposes. In terms of the kinship dyads, the problem can be

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 131]

FIG 3 LINEAGE STRUCTURE



reduced to the weakness of the tie between remotely related agnates of the same age, and their rivalry for both women and leadership. The leaders of the three villages are all members of the same lineage.[1] It can be seen in Figure 3 that the headmen of the villages (indicated as 1, 2, and 3) are all agnates, each belonging to a different local segment of the lineage.[2]

As was shown in the last chapter, the ties between distantly related agnates of the same age are probably the most ambiguous and weakest ties in Yanomamö kinship. The feuds that developed within the large, composite village could not be satisfactorily resolved by the leaders of the village, as each leader's segment had more important and stronger ties with local segments of other lineages, and local segments of the same lineage aligned themselves with their affines in disputes against the factions of their agnates. When the village split, it separated along the weakest lines: agnates that were distantly related dispersed to different villages with the groups to which they were more closely bound, their affines. The same is true of the separation of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi from the Patanowä-tedi. Factions A and B of Lower Bisaasi-tedi, when put into the larger,

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[1] In 1965 the Sha headman of Monou-tedi was killed by the Patanowä-tedi in a raid.

[2] The Sha lineage is shown on the left half of the diagram; it extends to Patanowä-tedi, as does the Hor lineage shown on the right side. Patanowä-tedi's composition is simply an enlarged version of any of the other villages shown in the diagram, and its headmen come from the Sha and Hor lineages.

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composite group shown in Figure 3, would behave as a single faction as opposed to all other groups in the composite village, for the ties that unite them to each other by marriage are more stable and better defined than the ties that unite the Sha portion of Lower Bisaasi-tedi to the Sha portions of Upper Bisaasi-tedi or Monou-tedi. In structural terms, large villages are congeries of dual organizations each with separate political interests that have largely to do with maximizing their own access to women. Individuals in any particular dual organization are more closely related, consanguineally, to members in other dual organizations, but their political fate is tied up in their relationships to affines, not agnates. They are supported in internal feuds by their close agnates only, and their brothers-in-law; distant agnates are potential rivals for the women in the village, and relationships between such men is restrained and potentially hostile. Leaders of local segments of one lineage cannot expect political support from agnates of the same age; for these reasons, local segments of the same lineage tend to separate from each other when the village splits.

The histories of the villages show that hostility between recently established cognate villages is a common feature of the settlement dynamics and social organization of the Yąnomamö. Appendix A gives the composition of all Namowei-tedi villages by patrilineage affiliation; it is apparent that the war between the Patanowä-tedi and the Monou-tedi is largely a war between agnatically related kinsmen.

*621 It is more than coincidental that the composition of both
+628 Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi is more similar in terms of Sha
613 and Hor lineages than the similarity between any other two
• 602 Namowei-tedi villages. Patanowë-tedi is merely an enlarged version of Monou-tedi in composition, there being more agnatic ties between these two groups in the Hor and Sha lineages than between any other pair of Namowei-tedi villages. Yet the hostilities between them are very intense.

*621 B. Village Size and Warfare
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Yanomamö villages range in size from 40 to 250 individuals. Both limits are determined by the nature of Yanomamö warfare, but the upper limit is set in large measure by the capacity of kinship and leadership to organize the internal affairs of the village. This capacity diminishes as village size increases.

*621 The largest Yanomamö village for which I have complete
162 census data is Patanowë-tedi, a group comprising 212 indi-
722 viduals. The Patanowë-tedi assert that their southern neighbors and allies, the Ashadowë-tedi, are even more numerous, and that a number of Shamatari villages are, in turn, larger than Ashadowë-tedi. It is doubtful, however, that the numbers involved exceed 250 per village. Villages of this size, as we have mentioned for Patanowë-tedi, tend to fragment into smaller groups when threat of war subsides, and these smaller groups re-combine to form a larger village when warfare again threatens one or all of the colonies. The reason villages

aid of allies such as the two Bisaasi-tedi groups, the Monou-tedi probably could not survive as an independent village because of the size differential between themselves and their enemies. It is noteworthy, however, that the Monou-tedi are more independent than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, for they moved to a new site rather than recombine (permanently) with their agnates in Bisaasi-tedi. This avoidance pattern is not a probable alternative for the Lower Bisaasi-tedi because of their relative lack of potential to conduct effective warfare, even considering the fact that their allies would aid them. Lower Bisaasi-tedi would invite raiding by moving further away from Upper Bisaasi-tedi, as their erstwhile neighbors and allies, from whom they have managed to obtain so many women, would be more equal in strength and would demand more women from them. Or, other neighbors, such as the Widokaiya-tedi, would descend on them hoping to abduct women, of which the Lower Bisaasi-tedi have many. They have managed to obtain these women from a position of strength, but a large factor in their strength is the fact that they are still dependent on Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Without the latter, they would be in a serious military situation.

Summary

Village splitting develops out of feuding over women; the kinship lines along which villages split reflect the strength of the tie linking descent groups to each other by marriage or promises to exchange women, while at the same time illustrates the weakness of the agnatic bonds.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YĄNOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mąmariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Namowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawä-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

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historical relationships between villages to properly interpret marriage ties between them. With regard to the last point, I found that numerous individuals in Bisaasi-tedi claimed to be from Patanowë-tedi; my initial conclusions concerning their marriage to individuals from Bisaasi-tedi was that the marriages were village-exogamic. I was obliged to reassess these marriages after I learned that the two villages were at one time one village, and most of the marriages between the two groups were contracted while the groups were living together. I therefore investigated in detail the historical relationships between all the villages in the Mavaca area, a portion of the results constituting the subject of this chapter.

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I have summarized the village movements in Tables 5 and 6 and have indicated these movements graphically on Map C. The reader may, if he wishes, skip the details of the histories and turn at this point to the concluding remarks of this chapter. I can make the four points by using only Tables 5 and 6, in conjunction with Map C. However, I cannot illustrate Yanomamö political behavior without recourse to details of the village movements and the wars that caused them and, accordingly, I include the details of the histories in this chapter. The political relationships that presently obtain between the two Shamatari villages (Mömariböwei-tedi and Reyaboböwei-tedi) and their allies, the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, can not be completely understood without knowing their respective histories in some detail. Most of the

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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 149]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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[Namowei-tedi Group]
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Table 5: History of Namowei-tedi, Summarised.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Konata	1875-1900	Raids from Obotawä-tedi, Boreta-tedi, Bokgoiwä-urihi-tedi and Aramata-tedi	None	---
Wareta	1900-1910	Raids from Shihowä- and Husirawä-urihi-tedi	None	---
Namowei	1910-1920	Raids from Boreta-tedi	None	---
Hahoyaoba	1920-1925	Poor Soil	None	---
Patanowä	1925-1943 (1966)	Internal feud led to split and raiding between factions; site still occupied	Village size and frequent fighting within village	Strained at first, then hostile
Shihota	1943-1949	Raids from Patanowä-tedi	None	---
Mahekodo	1951-1952	Suspicion that their hosts planned to kill them	None	---
Kobou	1952-1953	Fear of Shamatari raids	Internal feuds over women	Friendly
Monou and Barawä	1954-1966 1954-1959	Barawä abandoned because foreigners invited Indians to move to Mavaca; Monou still occupied	None	---
Bisaasi	1959-1966	---	Village size and frequent arguments	Friendly

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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Table 6: History of Paruritawä-tedi, Summarized.

Site	Dates of Occupation	Reason for Abandoning Site	If Village Split, Cause of Split	Relationships Between Cognates
Pre-Aramamisi	? - 1880	Raids from Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi	None	---
Aramamisi	1880-1900	Raids from Shihowä-, Konabuma and Mokayäaba-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Shirakoböwei	1900-1910 [1900-1966]	Internal feuds led to separation of several factions that raided parent group: Karehewä-, Matakuwä-, and previous enemies, Shihowä- and Mokayäaba-tedi. Aramamisi-tedi group remained at Shirakoböwei after other factions left	a. 1900: Karehewä's faction left because of a feud over a woman. b. 1900: Waiyahowä's faction left for unknown causes. c. 1910: Matakuwä's faction left to aid Karehewä and to avoid raids from Shihowä-tedi.	a. Hostile b. Friendly; Waiyahowä's group was decimated by an epidemic and no longer exists. c. Hostile
Boraböwei	1910-1935	Raids from Karawatari- and Aramamisi-tedi	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Kayurewä	1935-1940	Raids from Aramamisi- and Namowei-tedi	None	---
Konabuma	1940-1945	See next column	Feud over a woman	Hostile
Paruritawä	1945-1960	Raids from Sibarariwä's village (Möwäraoba-tedi)	Minor internal feud	Friendly
Mömariböwei Reyaboböwei	1960-1965	Present locations	None	---

174 and returned to Patanowä-tëka. A segment of the group that
361 returned to Patanowä-tëka immediately began making a new
*628 garden (Shihota) about a day's walk to the west of Patanowä-
[241] tëka, anticipating that further hostilities with the
174 Wanidima group would develop. Within a year of the club
*628 fight the Wanidima group attacked the group at Patanowä-
726 tëka while the latter were having a feast, but the raiders'
574 arrows missed their marks and no one was injured. The group
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• 602 at Patanowä-tëka abandoned their village and rejoined their
[361] agnates at the latter's new garden, Shihota-tëka, whence
they began raiding the Wanidima-tedi. On one raid the group
from Shihota found Wanidima-tedi deserted and followed the
trail the villagers had taken. The Wanidima-tedi were found
at Hasaböwä-tedi, feasting. The raiders killed one of the
Wanidima-tedi men, but in doing so angered both the Hasaböwä-
tedi and their cognate group, the Ashadowä-tedi.

174 With the aid of the last two villages, the Wanidima-
*628 tedi raided the Shihota-tedi and killed a younger brother of
726 Makuwä. The Shihota-tedi reciprocated by raiding the Wanidima-
tedi, killing Husiwä (Nabëyoma's husband), Hoari, and
Siayeikema. This in turn was followed by raids from the
Wanidima-tedi in which the Shihota-tedi lost Ushuenawä and
the two younger brothers of Paruriwä, and had one of their
women, Buhiomi, seized.

174 Eventually the superior numbers of the Wanidima-tedi
*628 and their allies decided the fighting, and the Shihota-tedi
727 were forced to abandon their garden and make a new one else-
361 where.
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[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tăka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Raahawĕ and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowĕ-tăka, and became known as the Patanowĕ-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawĕ-tedi and Kashorawĕ-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawĕ, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowĕ-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowĕ-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawĕ-tedi visited Patanowĕ-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowĕ-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawĕ-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawĕ-tedi. Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowĕ-tedi and Yabitawĕ-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

the Patanowä-tedi.[1] Thus, the Patanowä-tedi were surrounded on all sides by enemies; only one village, Ashadowä-tedi, remained on friendly terms with them. Beyond the Ashadowä-tedi were the Shamatari villages, bitter enemies of the Patanowä-tedi since the killing of Ruwahiwä.

By the time the Patanowä-tedi had gotten into this situation, the war with their agnates had subsided. So the Patanowä-tedi moved west, into the area abandoned by their agnates, whence they harried the Hasaböwä-tedi and the groups north of the Orinoco. They attempted with some success to effect a rapprochement with their agnates, and a few individuals from the Kreiböwei-tedi group visited the Patanowä-tedi. One of these individuals was able to obtain a wife in Patanowä-tedi, whom he subsequently took back to Monou-tedi with him.

The Patanowä-tedi are presently living between two sites: Patanowä-täka and Shamata-täka, a situation forced on them by the hostile relationships they have with all their neighbors except the Ashadowä-tedi.

Area 6: Shihota-täka

See "Area 5" point (2) above.

Area 7: Kreiböwei-tedi

This site was established in 1949. After fleeing from Shihota to avoid the raids of the Patanowä-tedi, the

[1] At this point the Patanowä-tedi returned to Patanowä-täka from their three sites of Wanidima, Waiyari, and Rashawä.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

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mouth of the Mavaca River. The Paruritawä-tedi had split from Sibarariwä's village about 1945, and had not been involved in the treacherous feast of 1950 in which the Kreiböwei-tedi lost so many men. The Paruritawä-tedi were still on good terms with Sibarariwä's followers, and the members of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi persuaded them to invite Sibarariwä and his group to a feast. Using their agnatic ties and existing friendship, the Paruritawä-tedi succeeded in getting the followers of Sibarariwä to accept the invitation, but a malaria epidemic prevented all but a handful of people from actually attending the feast: five men and four women. With the assistance of the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the Paruritawä-tedi killed three of the guests and seized all four of the women.

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By participating in this treachery, the Paruritawä-tedi subordinated themselves to the Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. At the present time the Paruritawä-tedi live in two villages, and are intimately involved in a bride-exchange network with the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, the latter two villages receiving more women (and men doing bride service) than they give. The Paruritawä-tedi have no other allies, as they are the front of the expansion into this region and the only villages to their east are allies of Sibarariwä. Despite the fact that they would like to make friendly contact with Sibarariwä's group again, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, as we shall see, prevent them from doing so by chicane and threat. Thus, Monou-tedi and the

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayëaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-këkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawë's and Matakuwë's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwë's group, mentioning Kayabawë's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawë-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawë's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwë's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawë-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawa-tedi Group]

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakobŏwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Borabŏwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Borabŏwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the PatanowÃ-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the PatanowÃ-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and PatanowÃ-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of PatanowÃ in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting PatanowÃ-tedi, and one of them, TorokoiwÃ, was given two wives by the PatanowÃ-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

There were, however, two recognizable factions within this group; one was led by Kąobäwä, who had many relatives in both Patanowä-tedi and Monou-tedi, and the other was led by Paruriwä, who had no consanguineal relatives in Patanowä-tedi, but many in Monou-tedi. Paruriwä's group was linked to Kąobäwä's by a number of marriage ties.

Kąobäwä was the acknowledged leader of the entire upper section of Bisaasi-tedi, including Paruriwä's group, although Paruriwä had some influence in the affairs of the village. After the middle of the year, Paruriwä began to emerge as leader in his own right, and began duplicating many of the activities normally the prerogative of the village headman. Thus, when Kąobäwä initiated a feast for members of an allied village, Paruriwä duplicated his efforts by sending out his own hunters to provide meat for the guests, and furnished an equal amount of cultivated food, which he disposed of from his own section of the village. Normally, the headman sends out the hunters and disposes of the cultivated food from his own house. Paruriwä, by duplicating Kąobäwä's efforts in these activities, announced that he was a headman.

The emergence of Paruriwä as an important leader was largely the result of his active prosecution of the war against the Patanowä-tedi. Kąobäwä, after he led one revenge raid against the Patanowä-tedi, decided that he wanted to remain neutral in the fighting and wanted to make peace with the Patanowä-tedi. This led to a political vacuum within

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwä seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowä-tedi without the support of Kaobäwä. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwä was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwä's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwä was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwä and his group separated from Kaobäwä's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kaobäwä as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwä spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

visitors were enraged because Paruriwä failed to execute the plan, and they returned to Monou-tedi to recruit a raiding party, hoping to intercept the visitors on their way back to Patanowä-tedi.[1] Paruriwä placated the Monou-tedi by organizing a series of raids against the Patanowä-tedi, and by inviting the Monou-tedi to stay in his section of the village when they fled from their other two sites. Prior to this, the Monou-tedi had been staying with the members of the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi. By early November, the Monou-tedi had begun raiding the Patanowä-tedi with great frequency, supported by members of Paruriwä's group. Paruriwä himself sent three raiding parties against the Patanowä-tedi between November and February, all of which included men from Monou-tedi. Kaobäwä did not participate in or encourage these raids, but some of his followers took part in them.

This split was not the outcome of an internal feud. Rather, it developed out of the different political interests of two leaders, one of whom was ambitiously striving to improve his status as a headman. The other refused to prosecute the war against the Patanowä-tedi, as he had a large number of kinsmen there. The existence of these ties, however, did not preclude the war, as the Bisaasi-tedi are in fact raiding the Patanowä-tedi. The kin ties at best mitigate the intensity of the raiding. The situation is a problem for the Patanowä-tedi, as they do not want to kill the few Bisaasi-tedi friends

[1] Their plan failed, as I took the Patanowä-tedi back to their village part way in my boat, and we went the remainder of the way on a trail the Monou-tedi could not reach.

they have, but they must revenge raids coming from Bisaasi-tedi. Now that Paruriwä and his followers have moved away from Kaobäwä's group, the Patanowä-tedi can raid Paruriwä without having to 'look twice' before shooting. As Paruriwä's faction is a small one, it is vulnerable; one raid from the Patanowä-tedi will force it to rejoin Kaobäwä's group. The internal stability of the reunited groups will suffer if this happens, as Paruriwä will be obliged to demonstrate his leadership capacity. This will involve making an issue out of an incident that probably would have been overlooked prior to the separation of the two groups, and internal friction will be high.

The split within Patanowä-tedi

The incessant raiding from Hasaböwä-tedi, Kashorawä-tedi, Yabitawä-tedi, Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and their respective allies brought about a high degree of tension among the Patanowä-tedi. It was not safe to leave the village at any time. The Patanowä-tedi had attempted to split into three groups several years earlier, as the population had reached a large size and internal fighting was a nuisance. The development of the war with the Hasaböwä-tedi forced them to reunite. Factionalism, however, was pronounced within the village, and the added tension brought about by the new war with Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi and the latter's two Shamatari allies ultimately led to an internal split within Patanowä-tedi a month before I left the field.

*621 595 586 578 [592] Moiyoawë had two wives, Borehima and her older sister, Kumaiema. Borehima thought she was being treated badly by her husband and deserted him, taking refuge with another man, Makerawë. Moiyoawë attempted to get his wife back from Makerawë, precipitating a club fight between two factions of the village. During the club fight, Makerawë stabbed Moiyoawë with the sharp end of his club, wounding him badly. This enraged the leader of Moiyoawë's faction, Rakoiwë, who then attacked Makerawë, running him through with a sharp-
* [628] [361] ened club, killing him. Makerawë's faction fled from Patanowë-tedi and joined their relatives in Monou-tedi, knowing that the latter would welcome their assistance in future raids against the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi, assisted by the
*726 628 Patanowë-tedi refugees, raided the Patanowë-tedi two times shortly after the refugees joined them. On the second raid they caught two Patanowë-tedi men hunting outside the village.
• [602] They killed one of them, but let the second one go, as he was Kaabëwë's actual son by a previous marriage and they did not want to risk a war with the Bisaasi-tedi by killing this man, [115] Shinahewë. In a recent letter from James P. Barker, I learned that a part of the refugee faction joined Bisaasi-tedi.

The woman over whom the internal feud started was [593] [624] taken away from Makerawë's group. Moiyoawë cut both her ears off to punish her.

000 the factions still remain on friendly terms.

*621 *623 578 726 105 Material presented in the discussion above--details of the movements of factions that are not relevant to the origin of the five villages considered here--also support the contention that villages split over internal feuds. That villages are structurally unstable is evidenced by the sheer number of village splits and the fact that the related factions enter into hostilities with each other after separating. Data I collected on village movements for other Yanomamö groups support the conclusions I reach here.

*621 *623 • 602 582 583 105 [613] One can see that the process of village splitting leads to the formation of independent villages that comprise closely-related kinsmen. Intuitively, one can also see that marriages "between" such villages, i.e., between spouses that each claim to be of different villages, do not necessarily represent political alliances between those villages, for in many cases the marriages were contracted between the local lineages involved before they separated. This is not to say that all the cases of this sort can be dismissed in this fashion. Some marriages between ambilateral cross-cousins are in fact properly interpreted as marriage alliances between villages, for occasionally related villages enter into alliances with each other. In these cases, the marriages between them come about for essentially the same reasons that the exogamic marriages between unrelated groups occur. In short, the existence of the marriage rule alone does not account for alliances between related groups that enter into politico-military pacts.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

121 two major structural problems: the lack of corporate functions
S8 of the local descent groups due to the nature of the corpor-
602 ation's estate, and the ambiguous nature of agnatic kinship
613 ties. Within a framework such as this, affinal ties are capable of promoting solidarity between corporate groups because marriages among the Yanomamö are political alliances that involve military obligations. Local descent groups enter into marriage alliances to advance their military status; the context, therefore, within which marriages are contracted decidely influences the relationships between the corporate groups in question.

121 The debate between Fortes and Leach arose out of the interpretation of the importance of matrilateral kinship ties in patrilineal societies, as these ties are the focal points in any analysis of the means by which solidarity is achieved between corporate descent groups. Briefly, Fortes maintained that the solidarity between lineal descent groups was ultimately due to the inherent tendency of kinship to promote amity. Leach, on the other hand, argues that such an analysis confuses affinal relationships with descent and fails to take notice of the effects of the economic and political contexts within which marriages take place.

Leach drew attention to the fact that ethnological perspectives developed from analyses of patrilineal societies such as the Nuer, Tiv, and Tallensi have biased later workers to focus their attention on lineal corporations and on the common descent ties between corporations when they analyze

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Among the Yąnomamö consanguineal kinship does not have the quality attributed to kinship in general by Fortes, and we therefore cannot explain the stability that exists in terms of these alleged properties. The fact that affinal ties do promote a certain amount of stability between Yąnomamö descent groups supports Leach's arguments, and, for the reasons implied by Leach: Yąnomamö marriages occur within a political context that promotes military obligations and concomitants not predictable from first principles regarding the putative nature of kinship itself. Descent groups exchange women with an eye toward maximizing military advantage in a milieu of hostile political relationships. The stability brought about by such marriages is, therefore, largely a function of the politico-military ends served by marriage and is only tangentially, if at all, a result of kinship.

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I would also like to discuss the nature of the relationship between corporation and descent from another point of view, for the nature of the estate of the Yąnomamö descent corporation gives a particular quality to the corporation. Most corporate lineal descent groups have as one of their major functions the control over and disposition of property. The property is usually real property. Pastoralists, of course, have as their estates, herds and use rights to forage areas. Some Northwest Coast and northern California tribes have corporate groups whose estates are acorn groves and portions of salmon streams.

In addition to real property, corporate groups

121 he acknowledged that the corporation did in fact function in the context of property control as well, suggesting once again that the nature of the estate (land) accounts for the quality of the corporation: that is, that the functions of the corporation are seen to lie largely in the regulation of real estate.

Leach (1963)[1] drew attention to the analytical significance of the local descent group in terms of its function in arranging marriages. He argued that the social groups that arrange marriages in tribal societies are essentially the same in all such societies: they comprise local males of three generations who live together. Membership in these social groups necessarily depends on residence. Yąnomamö descent groups are of this type: to participate in the disposition of local females, one must be related to the patrilineally, as well as live in the same village with them. Both the importance of the marriage arranging functions of the Yąnomamö descent group and the lack of other corporate functions seems to account for the fact that affinal ties promote inter-group solidarity in a way that consanguineal ties can not.

121 613 602 [611] *[621] [584]

121 On the basis of these findings, Leach's approach to the analysis of social organization would seem to hold more promise in the analysis of marriage alliance systems. To the extent that cultural variables such as warfare and the nature of marriage ties demonstrably affect the outcome of

[1] The article to which I refer, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," was originally published in 1951.

APPENDIX A

[P-215] Genealogy of Lower Bisaasi-tedi

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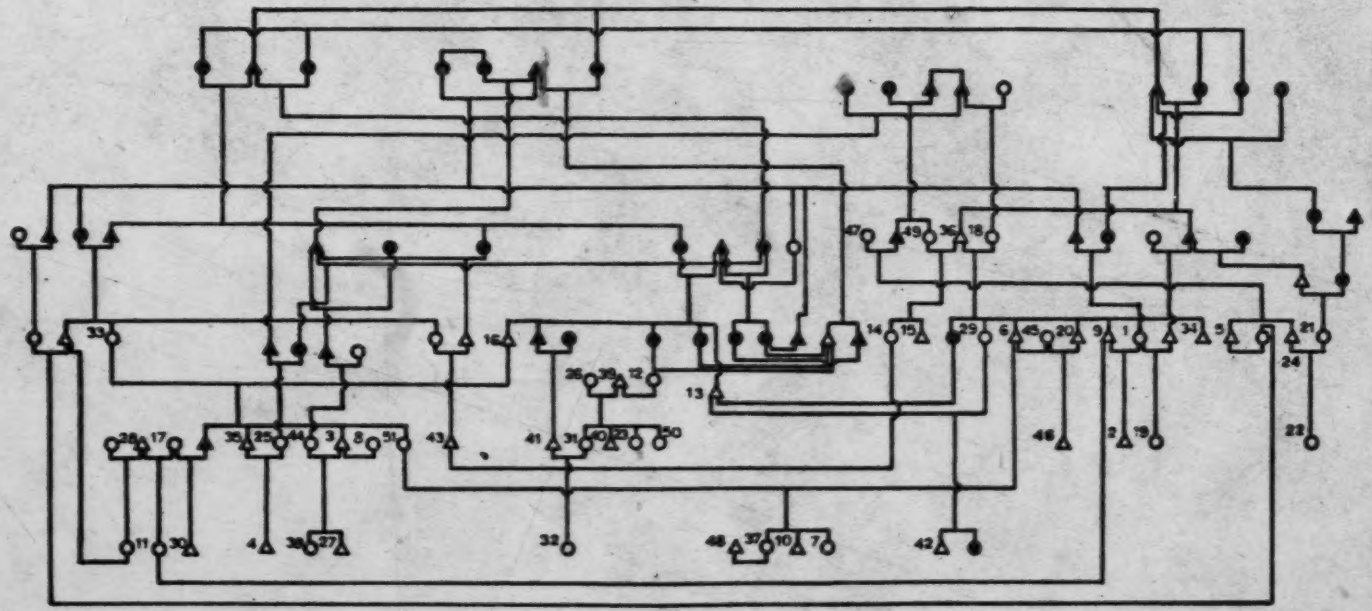

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3

Social Organization

128 THREE ASPECTS of Yąnomamö social organization will be dealt with: the ideal rules about marriage and the logical consequence of these rules—actual cases of Yąnomamö marriage are compared to the pattern of ideal marriage to justify the use of a model to describe Yąnomamö social structure; the demographic and political factors that bring about discrepancies between actual behavior and ideal behavior; the more important aspects of the division of labor and of ordinary daily life in the society.

Social Structure

121 This section is the most technical portion of the chapter; careful study of the
128 diagrams is required as the text is read. Kinship is the heart of primitive social structure, and it must be understood in detail rather than through generalities. The rules governing
[582] marriage, along with the kinship system, together comprise and delineate the structure
[602] of Yąnomamö society. There is no simple way to present the data, which itself is frequently boring to even accomplished anthropologists, and students of anthropology must sooner or later come to grips with this important topic. Fortunately, the Yąnomamö kinship system is the type most commonly found among the world's primitives and it is, comparatively speaking, quite easy to grasp once the patterns in the diagram are spotted.

128 The important features of Yąnomamö social structure are represented in the model shown in Fig. 3–1. This diagram is based on an analysis of Yąnomamö marriage rules, kinship terminology, and other social and ideological features characteristic of their behavior. The symbols given in the legend of Fig. 3-1 will also be used in the diagrams that follow. It should be borne in mind that the model is only an ideal representation of Yąnomamö society; we shall see below how closely actual behavior conforms to this model. One of the objectives of structural anthropology is to attempt comparisons of different kinds of societies by using models of this type. In the discussions that follow I shall present some actual field data to justify the use of this model to represent Yąnomamö social structure.

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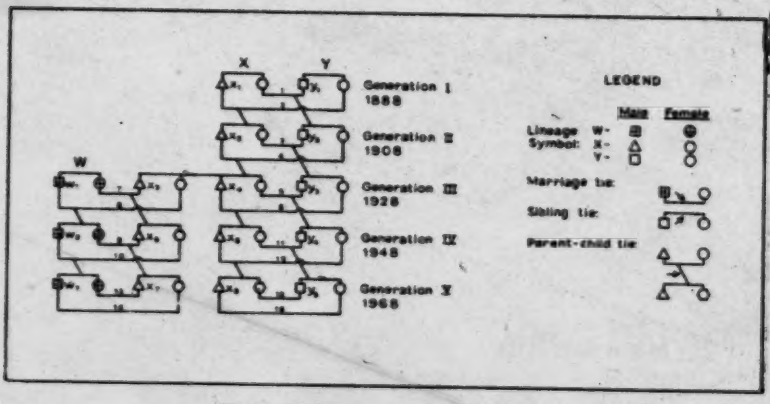

Fig. 3–1. Ideal Yąnomamö marriage pattern.

Fig. 3–1 can be presumed to represent the organization of a particular village over five generations, starting in the year 1888. Let us assume that the village originated in that year when individuals x_1 (and his sister, not numbered) and y_1 (and his sister) broke away from a larger village and established their own garden at some new location. Thus, in the year 1888, the village was comprised of two groups of kinsmen, X and Y. These two kinship groups are called lineages, the distinctive features of which I will discuss later.

In generation I, x_1 married the sister of y_1 and, in exchange, gave his own sister to y_1 as wife. This marriage practice is called *brother-sister* exchange and characterizes Yąnomamö marriage behavior. A man is under considerable obligation to *reciprocate* a woman to the kinship group from which he has taken one. In Fig. 3–1, x_1 married y_1's sister and reciprocated the exchange by giving his own sister to y_1. Because of this obligation of reciprocity, kinship groups become interdependent socially and form pairs of woman-exchanging kin groups. These paired kinship groups are discussed below in the context of village fissioning.

In generation II of Fig. 3–1, the village still contains only two groups of intermarrying kinsmen. These are the children of the individuals who founded the village. The reciprocal exchanges of women between the two groups of kinsmen (lineages X and Y) continue in the second generation, x_2 getting his wife from lineage Y and vice versa. Like their fathers, x_2 and y_2 exchanged sisters. It will be noted at this point that x_2 has married his mother's brother's daughter, who is simultaneously his father's sister's daughter.[1] This is a logical consequence of the fact that there are only *two* lineages in

[1]This is called bilateral cross-cousin marriage. See glossary for definitions. Hereafter the following abbreviations will be used, following Murdock, 1949: Mo—mother; Fa—father; Br—brother; Si—sister; So—son; and Da—daughter. Thus, "mother's brother's daughter" is simply MoBrDa.

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the village, the members of which being related to each other as brother and sister, and the fact that individuals must marry outside their own lineages.

The important features of the lineages X and Y are now clearly visible in generation II: The lineages are patrilineal and exogamous. That is, males and females belong to the lineage of their father (patrilineality), and individuals must marry people who belong to a different lineage (exogamy). This can be seen more clearly in the symbols used in Fig. 3-1. All males of lineage X are designated by triangles (x_1, x_2, x_3 . . . x_8), and all females of lineage X are designated by hexagons. Similarly, all males of lineage Y are designated as squares and all females by circles. Males of lineage X marry females of lineage Y. Their children belong to lineage X because their *father* (patrilineality) is of lineage X.

The Yąnomamö kinship system also reflects the rules of lineage exogamy, brother-sister exchange and reciprocity. Their kinship system is called the "bifurcate merging" type with "Iroquois" cousin terms (see Glossary). Within each generation, all the males of one lineage call each other "brother," and all the women call each other "sister." Males of lineage X call males of lineage Y "brother-in-law" and are eligible to marry their sisters. In fact, the males of lineage X call the females of lineage Y "wife" *whether or not they marry them.* This is likewise true for the males of lineage Y with respect to the females of lineage X. This brings us to another important Yąnomamö marriage rule: A male must marry a woman of the category called *suabëya*—"wife." This is called a *prescriptive* marriage rule.[2] To state it more precisely, Yąnomamö society is characterized by a rule that enjoins a man to marry a woman of a specific kinship category; he has no choice with respect to the category.

There is an important controversy over the meaning and implications of the term "prescriptive." I have given the definition held by British anthropologists generally, by Needham (1962*a*:9) in particular. This definition emphasizes the fact that men have no choice with respect to the category of women from which their wives must come, that men are forbidden to marry women of other categories, and that the society itself is said to be characterized by the prescriptive rule. The opposition to this definition comes largely from certain American anthropologists, who maintain that a society can only be said to have a prescriptive marriage rule when a high percentage (close to 100 percent) of the people marry according to the rule (see Coult and Hammel 1963:291). The issues involved are not quite as simple as this, but a glimmering of the area of contention can be seen in an example provided by Leach (1965). Rephrasing his example, the rule (in our society) "thou shalt not kill" is like the rule (among, say, the Yąnomamö) "thou shalt marry a woman of category A." These rules can be said to exist in the respective societies irrespective of the homocide rate in New York or the frequency of aberrant marriages in a Yąnomamö village. That is, Leach (and Needham) maintain that one cannot discover such a rule by counting examples of murder (or, rather, "non-murder") or marriages of men to women of category A. The more basic issue, however, is the

[2]Professor Lévi-Strauss, who read an earlier draft of this chapter, quite correctly pointed out that to say a marriage system is "prescriptive" is to say no more than "a man must marry a marriageable female," which is a tautology. Nevertheless, we must have some way to distinguish a system that permits marriage with only a single category of women from those that permit marriage with women of several categories. By showing what is meant by the Yąnomamö category *suabëya*, as I have attempted to do in Fig. 3-2, the reader will gain some idea of what is meant by that marriage type. I have used the term "prescriptive" because it is the current usage.

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meaning of, in this case, "category A." It is customary to represent primitive kinship categories in models (for example, Fig. 3–1) by their closest biological equivalents in *our own kinship system*. Many critics of Needham's definition of prescription fail to appreciate the fact that *FaSiDa* and *MoBrDa* in a model like the one given in Fig. 3–1 represent just *two* of several kinds of kinswomen who fall into the prescribed category. That is, they interpret the native's kinship category from the narrow point of view of one of that category's biological meanings in *our own kinship system*. (I have given ten examples of actual Yąnomamö marriages in Fig. 3–2, discussed later, to illustrate what the categories FaSiDa and MoBrDa mean to the Yąnomamö.) The use of Needham's definition of prescription to characterize Yąnomamö marriage rules can be justified, therefore, on several grounds. First, the Yąnomamö assert that a man must marry a woman of the *suaböya* category. Second, of the six primary categories used by men to classify female relatives, five of them embrace women who stand in incestuous relationship to the male speaker, and he is forbidden to marry any woman that falls into any of these five additional categories. Third, we will see below how closely the alternative definition of prescription fits the Yąnomamö, using their own notions of kinship to reckon relationships between males and females.[3]

In Fig. 3–1, marriageable women are related to their husbands as both FaSiDa and MoBrDa; this is an artifact of the way in which the model is drawn. These two kinds of kinswomen are the closest biological equivalents in our kinship system for the Yąnomamö term "*suaböya*" "wife." It must be emphasized, however, that given the classificatory nature of the Yąnomamö kinship system (for example, men of the same generation and of the same lineage are "brothers"), there are several ways to be related to a woman as "wife."

Something new has happened in generation III. A man (w_1) from a distant village, along with his sister, has joined the group. Both he and his sister have married into lineage X. Thus, there are three lineages represented in the village (W, X, and Y), and the *dual organization* characterizing generations I and II is now lost.[4] A Yąnomamö village can incorporate new lineages into its social life by an extension of marriage ties to its members. As can be seen from Fig. 3–1, the same rules—exogamy, reciprocity, patrilineal descent, and brother-sister exchange—that characterize the behavior of the members of lineages X and Y also hold for the members of the new lineage, W. The incorporation of lineage W takes place this way. W_1 joined the village in 1928 (generation III) because x_3 and x_4 promised him one of their sisters. As shown in Fig. 3–1, he did, in fact, marry one of their sisters and gave, in exchange, one of his sisters to x_3.

This (potentially) brings about an important structural change in the village with

[3]For an excellent summary of the various arguments concerning "prescriptive alliance," see Maybury-Lewis 1965*a*.

[4]A society is said to have dual organization when, for example, it is comprised of two intermarrying kinship groups, such as lineages X and Y in generations I and II of Fig. 3–1. In some societies the intermarrying kin groups are named, for example, "Bear Clan (or Moiety)" and "Thunderbird Clan (or Moiety)." The Yąnomamö do not have named kinship groups such as this. Dual organization is, however, implied in their kinship terminology and marriage rules and, as will be seen, villages tend to have two (and only two) politically dominant lineages that intermarry. In short, the Yąnomamö village tends to be comprised *in fact* of two dominant kinship groups but lacks some of the ideology, such as named pairs of intermarrying kin groups, of classical dual organization. See: Maybury-Lewis, 1960 and 1967; Lévi-Strauss, 1963, Chapter VIII; Nimuendajú and Lowie, 1927; and Malinowski, 1926, for further descriptions and analyses of societies having dual organization.

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respect to the male members of lineage X. Generation III shows that individuals x_3 and x_4 are full brothers. The individuals x_5 and x_6 of generation IV, however, are not shown as brothers, although in Yąnomamö kinship usage they would be such.

I have not indicated them as being related as brothers in order to draw attention to a fault line that may develop when the members of a single lineage (X in this case) marry into more than one other lineage (W and Y in this case). x_3 and one of his sisters married into lineage W, whereas x_4 and one of his sisters continued to exchange with members of lineage Y. In the following generation the kinship tie of "brother" between x_5 and x_6 is considerably weaker than the same "brother" tie between their fathers (x_3 and x_4). In generation V, the "brother" tie between x_7 and x_8 is weaker still. One of the reasons that *agnatic* ties[5] weaken in this case is that the men in question are drawn into intimate relationship with the kinship groups from which they obtain their wives and assume, because of the principle of reciprocity, obligations to their affinally related (that is, by marriage) kinsmen.

Secondly, because agnates of the same generation are "brothers," they can marry the same women and are, hence, competitors. In other words, the obligations to exchange women (reciprocity) can link the members of affinally related groups to each other more intimately than ties of blood between males of the same lineage. (This can be more readily seen in Figs. 3–5 and 3–6, discussed later, but it can also be partially illustrated here.) If the village shown in Fig. 3–1 were to split in generation V and form two new villages, lineage X would pull apart along the fault line shown. That is, parts of lineage X would end up in each of the two new groups because the affinal (marriage) ties between its members and their wife-givers are stronger than the agnatic ties within the lineage. Individual x_7 and his sister would form a new village with w_3 (and his sister) while x_8, his "brother" (agnate), would remain paired with lineage Y. Lineage X would therefore be represented in both of the two new villages; individuals x_7 and x_8 would "feel" even more remotely related because they now live in different villages, although they would continue to call each other "brother." Finally, the two new villages would again demonstrate the dual organization that characterizes generations I and II of the original village of Fig. 3–1. For the sake of simplicity I have shown each married pair with only two children (except in generation III) so that the village remains constant in size, growing only by the addition of new members. In an actual village lineages X and Y might comprise up to 80 percent of the population so that the addition of a few new members such as w_1 would not appreciably alter the dual composition.

In Fig. 3–1, lineage X stands as wife-giver and wife-receiver with respect to the other two lineages. The significance of this relationship cannot be exaggerated in the analysis of Yąnomamö social organization. Its strength derives from the obligations kinship groups have toward each other once they enter into reciprocal marriage exchanges. The wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship is also reflected in the attitudes men have toward their affines, such as brothers-in-law, as opposed to attitudes toward distant agnates. A man is on very intimate terms with his brother-in-law, jokes with him, gives him possessions, and protects him; a man treats an agnate of the same age with great reserve and coolness and tends to be jealous of him. He cannot, for example, directly ask

[5]Kinship ties between patrilineally related kinsmen.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

him to do a favor, whereas he could ask this of a brother-in-law.[6] As shall presently be seen, the dynamics of Yąnomamö social organization originate in the politics of obtaining a wife. Within this context, agnates are competitors and affines are allies. This has an important effect on the manner in which villages fission and form new groups. The point to remember at this juncture is that ties of marriage are in many cases stronger than ties of blood.

I emphasize this because many anthropologists argue from "first principles" that ties of blood are—by definition—more capable of promoting solidarity and amity than ties by marriage. The controversy over "complementary filiation" between E. R. Leach (1957) and M. Fortes (1959), still not satisfactorily resolved, was essentially a debate about the analytical significance of marriage ties. Focusing on only one of the issues and rephrasing the arguments so as to apply to Fig. 3–2, the debate ran something like this: Both Leach and Fortes seemed to agree that in societies having lineal descent groups (lineages), the descent groups would tend to fall apart unless some kind of tie bound the members to each other. That is, lineages X and Y of Fig. 3–2 would, in short, pull away from each other unless they were held together by some special social tie. Fortes argued that this special tie was the solidarity and amity that grew out of the cognatic (see Glossary) kinship ties between the two lineages which arise when individuals marry blood relatives. Looking at generation V, for example, Fortes would argue that lineages X and Y are bound to each other because x_8 and y_5 married women to whom they are related by blood (as FaSiDa and MoBrDa). He argues from first principles that solidarity emanates from the blood ties. Leach, however, states that in generation V the two lineages are bound to each other by obligations to reciprocate goods, services, and women and that the solidarity of the two lineages derives from the affinal ties themselves (shown as "15" and "16" in Fig. 3–2). If we look only at generation V, the argument cannot be resolved, since the data support both arguments equally well, or at least do not convincingly support one rather than the other. I might add that both arguments can be supported by data not given in Fig. 3–2; Fortes' arguments are supported, for example, by the additional fact that Yąnomamö men do not stringently have to avoid their mothers-in-law when they are related to them in the fashion shown in Fig. 3–2, whereas the avoidance taboo is very onerous when a man's mother-in-law is not a blood relative. If, however, attention is focused on the events of generation III and their consequences examined, it can readily be seen that the affinal (marriage) ties in generation V are stronger than some of the agnatic (blood) ties, and the latter break when the village fissions. (This can be even more readily seen in Fig. 3–4 and 3–5, discussed later.) Thus, it cannot be argued that Yąnomamö lineage solidarity derives exclusively from blood ties and "complementary filiation." There is another issue. Structural analyses depend in large measure on a sharp distinction between marriage (affinal) ties and blood (consanguineal) ties. Fortes seems to deny that affinal ties as such exist independently of blood ties, and he has "subsumed" them into his concept of "complementary filiation." If there is no such thing as affinal ties between lineal descent groups, then structural

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

[6] In addition, it is by no means rare for agnates to get into club fights over women. I even have recorded a number of cases of men shooting and killing a "brother" during raids. This happened on two occasions during my first stay in the field, and I have reports of several additional cases obtained from informants who were describing past raids.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

analysis of reciprocal marriage exchanges between such groups and the obligations implied in such exchange is seriously hampered. In short, if Yąnomamö marriage exchanges over a number of generations and the kinship basis of village fissioning are examined, the data support Leach's arguments. They do not, however, invalidate Fortes' argument that blood ties create some solidarity, but they do call into question the contention that blood ties by definition, or, rather, on "first principles," account exclusively for the solidarity occurring between lineages.

In summary, Fig. 3–1 represents a number of important features of Yąnomamö social organization. First, people reckon descent through males and are grouped into exogamous, patrilineal lineages. These are called *mashi* by the Yąnomamö, although none of them bear distinctive names.[7] Second, members of these lineages tend to intermarry with the members of a second lineage over a number of generations, being bound to them by obligations to reciprocate women in marriage. This results in a dual organization of kinsmen within the village, whose residents fall into one or the other of the two lineages. Third, new lineages can be incorporated into the village by an extension of marriage ties, potentially bringing about "structural faults" within the lineages of that village. Fourth, men are obliged to marry a woman of a single, specific category, *suaböya*. This category defines a variety of women, two subcategories of which can be translated into the English biological equivalents MoBrDa and FaSiDa. Yąnomamö men prefer to marry women of these subcategories because they are relieved of much of the discomfort of avoiding their mothers-in-law.[8]

The ten partial genealogies shown in Fig. 3–2 show how the Yąnomamö actually marry. The genealogies have been selected with the intention of illustrating how the Yąnomamö reckon relationships between kinsmen in general, and between husband and wife in particular. All ten exemplify prescriptive marriage. They are more or less arranged in decreasing order of correspondence to our own biological concepts of kinship and illustrate the classificatory nature of their kinship system.

The people shown on these genealogies are (or were) real people. Many of the individuals in the examples are related to each other in such ways that all ten of the examples could be drawn as a single, unified genealogy.

The first eight examples are drawn from the village of Patanowä-teri; the last two are from Bisaasi-teri. In case J, for example, the fifth individual of the second generation is Kąobawä. To give a rough idea of the incompleteness of each genealogy, only one of Kąobawä's four marriages is shown and only one of his four children. None of his brothers and sisters are shown either, nor is the fact that he married a MoBrDa indicated.

Case A illustrates the identification procedure to be used in relating the genealogies to the text. There are three generations shown in case A; the first is symbolized by the Roman numeral I, the second, by II, the third, by III. Each individual in each generation is given a number; the number series runs from left to right and begins anew with 1 in each generation. Hence, every individual bears a generation number and a position-within-generation number. Case A illustrates the marriage of individuals III–1 to III–2;

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63]

[7] *Mashi* means "species," "group," "cluster of similar things," and, in the context of kinship, "that group of people to whom I am related through males;" that is, "patrilineal kinsmen."

[8] I draw attention to the fact that the category is *prescribed*, but within it there are *preferences*. There are very few analyses of societies that have a prescriptive rule within which there are preferences, although Needham has devoted some attention to this interesting phenomenon (1962*a*, 1962*b*, and 1963).

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that is, the marriage of individuals 1 and 2 of the third generation. Although the ten examples are given primarily to illustrate the marriage of individuals of the most recent generation (3 or 4, depending on the number of generations in each example), in some cases additional marriages in ascending generations will be discussed. The point to remember for the time being is that the genealogies should be looked at from the most recent generation; the marriage pattern can be more readily seen in this fashion.

Case A: This exemplifies the *matrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, sometimes called MoBrDa marriage. Here, the Yąnomamö category *suaböya* corresponds exactly with our biological translation to MoBrDa. The man in question (III–1) would have called the woman *suaböya* whether or not he married her. Similarly, she would have addressed him by the term for husband: *bąroya*.

The marriage of III–1 to III–2 in this case also exemplifies *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, for the woman is related to her husband as FaSiDa as well. This is so because individuals II–1 and II–4 are siblings (brother and sister to each other) because their own fathers, in turn, were brothers. (Individual I–2 was an *adopted* brother to I–5, hence the broken sibling line connecting them.) When an individual marries a woman who is simultaneously his FaSiDa and MoBrDa, he is said to marry his *bilateral cross-cousin*. Case A illustrates the preferred form of marriage, for the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents as stringently as he would were they related to him in a different fashion. When a man's father-in-law is his MoBr, he is on extremely intimate terms with him and can even make jokes at his expense. The intimacy of the relationship between a man and his MoBr was brought home to me very indelibly on one occasion. A group of Patanowä-teri men visited Kąobawä, although their two villages were at war. One of the visitors was Kąobawä's wife's brother. After this man rested in a hammock for a few minutes, he got up and found Ariwari, Kąobawä's son. Ariwari was the visitor's sister's son. He played with him in the hammock and hugged him intimately (see Fig. 3–3). Ariwari fell asleep in his arms. This took place in spite of the fact that the visitors were in danger of being killed by other members of Kąobawä's group and narrowly escaped death on their previous visit. (See the section "Division of Labor and Daily Social Life" later in this chapter for a description of the incident.)

Case B: This illustrates the same kind of marriage that took place in Case A, except that the parents of the married people are half-siblings to each other. The Yąnomamö do not distinguish half-siblings from full siblings, so this situation is identical, as far as they are concerned, to the marriage in case A.

Case B also illustrates *sororal polygyny:* III–1 married two women who were related to each other as sisters.

Finally, it should be noted that the father of the man in question married a sister to individual II–3. They stood in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and so do their children.

Case C: This illustrates the *patrilateral cross-cousin* marriage, that is, the FaSiDa marriage. Like the MoBrDa marriage, it is preferred because the man does not have to avoid his wife's parents. It is considered to be incestuous for a man to be familiar with his wife's mother if the woman is still sexually active. Hence, he must avoid her. If she is his FaSi, however, incest prohibitions pertaining to that kinswoman would automatically call forth appropriate behavior on his part, and the avoidance taboo is not stringent.

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606 123 [551] The avoidance taboo prohibits a man from saying his mother-in-law's name. My informants would be extremely embarrassed when I would say the name of their mother-in-law while collecting genealogies. Kąobawä, for example, would grin sheepishly and hide his head. Men must also avoid their mothers-in-law physically and should not look at them. If I took a group of people for a ride in my canoe, there would always be considerable shuffling of bodies so that the men could be situated in the canoe as far away from their mothers-in-law as possible.

128 602 595 Finally, case C illustrates another kind of sororal polygyny: Individuals III-1 and III-3 are sisters to each other because their mothers are sisters. (The equation stating that children of siblings of the same sex are themselves siblings extends indefinitely in the case of males, but breaks down in the case of females after two generations. This is because descent is patrilineal.)

128 582 602 *Case D:* This also is a case of FaSiDa marriage: I-2 and I-3 were brothers, so one of the parents of each of the third generation individuals were brother and sister to each other. Hence, III-1 married his FaSiDa.

128 595 602 *Case E:* The marriage of III-1 to III-2 is similar to the marriage in case D, but his marriage to the second wife, III-3, illustrates the use of another kinship equation. She is an actual sister to the first wife, but does not stand in the FaSiDa relationship to her husband. If one of the sisters is FaSiDa, however, then all of them are in Yąnomamö kinship usage.

128 582 602 [601] *Case F:* This illustrates how affinal ties replace consanguineal ties should the two conflict. III-1 can trace a blood tie to his wife, one that would prevent him from marrying her, but the affinal ties between his own father and the father of his wife permit him to marry according to the prescription. Individual III-1 would call all of his father's wives "mother." Hence, his own wife is, technically, MoBrDa.

128 582 587 602 *Case G:* This illustrates a number of marriage rules stated in the preceding examples. I present it as a sort of exercise to reinforce the logic of the Yąnomamö kinship equations given above. Individual II-6 married two brothers, II-5 and II-7, illustrating the *levirate:* the marriage between a man and his brother's widow. Individual II-9 married his FaSiDa (as in case F). Individuals III-3 and III-4 can marry because their fathers were cross-cousins (see case H, below). Individual III-5 married his FaSiDa, as was shown for the similar marriage in case E. Individual IV-1 married two women, each of whom is his FaSiDa. This is so because I-2 and I-4 were adopted brothers, so that their [597] sons (II-2 and II-4) were also siblings. Hence, IV-1 married his FaSiDa (IV-2) and, as in case E, her sister. His second wife is also FaSiDa because her mother (III-6) was a sister to III-2, since their respective fathers (II-9 and II-2) were (adopted) brothers.

128 582 601 602 *Case H:* This illustrates a very powerful marriage rule: The children of men who call each other *shoriwä* (brother-in-law) can marry. Practically speaking, in our kinship terms, the rule is that the children of cross-cousins stand in marriageable relationship to each other. II-2 and II-3 stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other and could exchange sisters in marriage. Their sons stand in the same relationship. Another important feature of Yąnomamö kinship and marriage rules is illustrated here. While III-1 married a woman of the prescribed category, he does not reckon his relationship to her patrilaterally or matrilaterally. That is, she is neither FaSiDa nor MoBrDa, but she is both! This emphasizes the fact that they marry primarily in terms of categories rather than by tracing biological ties, as I have done in the above examples. To the Yąnomamö,

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FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suabōya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamō would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suabōya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3-1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suabōya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamō kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II-2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawā's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV-1 to IV-2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV-1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawā, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamō kinship. The man (III-1) married his *suabōya* according to the Yąnomamō, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III-1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamō kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawā has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawā belongs is shown on Fig. 3-5, discussed later as the *Shu* lineage.)

The Yąnomamō do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Shu* lineage is named after a man called *Shumathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawā's village, the *Shu* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horiborōwā*. The *Shu* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowā-teri, Monou-teri,

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Upper Bisaasi-teri, and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Table 1). Politically, they are either the two dominant lineages in each of the above-named villages or one of the two dominant lineages. For example, the headmen of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kaobawä and Reromauwä, respectively, come from the *Sha* lineage. In Patanowä-teri there are two headmen, one from the *Sha* lineage and one from the *Hor* lineage. Finally, in Monou-teri, the headmanship shifted from the *Sha* lineage to the *Hor* lineage in 1965 because the *Sha* headman was killed in a raid by men from Patanowä-teri. I might add that he was killed by men of his own lineage to whom he was related as "brother." After he died, his brother-in-law, of the *Hor* lineage, assumed the leadership. It is not surprising that the headmanship shifted to this large, important group. In terms of sheer numbers, the *Hor* lineage (see Table 3–1) was stronger than the *Sha* lineage in Monou-teri. The distribution of political power within these two lineages underscores the dual organization of most Yanomamö villages.

It is apparent from the foregoing example that the ties between agnates who live in different villages are not necessarily amicable. The most bitter fighting, in fact, takes place between members of different villages who are related to each other agnatically. It is not uncommon for men to kill their classificatory brothers in the ensuing raids. As a consequence of the killing of the Monou-teri headman, for example, the raiders from Monou-teri avenged his death by shooting Bosibrei of Patanowä-teri. The two men who actually killed Bosibrei were related to their victim as brothers. Similarly, Kaobawä himself shot Rakoiwä, the present *Sha* headman of Patanowä-teri, wounding him badly. He had shot to kill even though Rakoiwä was his older (classificatory) brother.

Once the lineage splits up and is redistributed in several villages, the ties between the men of that lineage weaken dramatically. And, as we shall see below, the fissioning of a village is frequently the result of a bitter club fight within the village over the possession of women. The result is that many villages that have a common history are at war with each other due to the nature of the feuds that led to their splitting away from the common village. The Patanowa-teri, for example, are at war with all three of the villages from which they originally separated (see Fig. 3–5, discussed later).

The kinship ties between agnates who live in the same village are likewise quite weak. They are strongest between a man and his younger brothers, for the age differences alone call forth a certain amount of respect and amity. An older man can be expected to aid his younger brothers in fights and help them to secure wives. In some cases, the younger man obtains his wife from a polygynous older brother; some men appear to accumulate extra wives with the intention of passing them on to their younger brothers. Kaobawä, for example, gave one of his wives to a younger brother and will probably give another wife to a second younger brother. (He is presently permitting the brother to share her sexual services.) Kaobawä's older wife, Bahimi, is quite jealous of the co-wives because they can command some of the tasty morsels of food that would otherwise be her own prerogative. And, since the younger wives are more attractive physically, Kaobawä does pay considerable attention to them. In Lower Bisaasi-teri, one of Kaobawä's classificatory brothers was forced by his older wife to get rid of his young, attractive second wife. The man gave her to an unmarried younger brother. He himself had acquired the younger wife as part of a political alliance he had made with the members of an allied village, knowing at the time that his first wife would object strenuously to the

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only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kaobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kaobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kaobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kaobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kaobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kaobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3–1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

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father. He can rejoin them later and again become an active member, but while he lives in a different village he does not participate in the political affairs of that group. Third, the group is *corporate* with respect to the functions of arranging the marriages of the female members. This is the most important single feature of the local descent group: its *function*. The first two characteristics of the group dealt only with the manner in which members can be recruited to the group (birth in the group and coresidence of such kinsmen). In anthropological usage, a corporation is a group of people who share some *estate* and have *rights* and *obligations* with respect to each other and to the estate. There are definite rules for recruiting new members into the corporation. Most studies of primitive corporations have dealt with those societies in which *land* is the estate of the corporation. (See, for example, Fried 1957.) Among the Yąnomamö, land has nothing to do with the functions of the corporate group. Women and rights to dispose of women in marriage constitute the estate of the Yąnomamö corporate groups. Leach is the first anthropologist to draw attention to the analytical importance of this kind of corporation (1961, Chapter 5), although Radcliffe-Brown (1953), in one of the first theoretical discussions of primitive corporations, emphasized the importance of rights over *persons* in some kinds of corporations.

Marriages are arranged by the male members of the local descent group. It cannot be supposed, for example, that the marriage rules auromatically dictate the manner in which a woman is disposed in marriage; there are always some negotiations brought about by the situation. For example, a small village may require alliances with larger villages for purposes of defense, and the men of the small village may promise to give daughters to men in the larger village; or there may be a number of men within the village that stand in wife-receiving relationship to the girl, and a decision must be made regarding her ultimate disposition. In some cases a woman's daughters are promised to young men even before they are born. Generally, the girls are near puberty age by the time they are definitely given to a specific male, and they begin cohabiting with the man shortly after the puberty ceremony is over. In some situations a woman must be reassigned to an appropriate mate because her first husband died or abandoned her; or she might run away from a cruel husband and seek refuge among her brothers, bringing about a situation in which they must decide what to do with her.

Women abhor the possibility of being given to men in distant villages, since their fate is much less certain. Men in general are cruel to their wives, and the women rely on the protection of their brothers. A woman who is given to a man in a distant village, therefore, will generally have no brothers to protect her.

A man has considerably more say about the disposition of his daughters when he is young and has immature sons. As the sons grow older, they can overrule the father and insist that the girl be given to a man from some lineage that is likely to reciprocate with a sister. Ideally, women like to be given to men within their natal village. In this fashion the women can remain close to their own kinsmen and rely on the support of their brothers should the husband be particularly cruel. The best arrangement for everyone concerned is for the girl to be given to a man to whom she is related as FaSiDa or MoBrDa in the biological sense. Marriages of this kind exempt the husband from the onerous duty of stringently avoiding his parents-in-law, whereas they at the same time bind the wife-giving and wife-receiving groups more closely together in the system of reciprocities. As Kąobawä stated it, "It is good for groups to exchange women back and

Y 582 forth in this fashion. They will be good friends because of it."[10] If the girl marries a • 602 man of this category, the probability is high that she will remain in the village with her *621 parents and brothers, since exchanges of this kind keep affinally linked local descent groups bound to each other.

Y *621 582 613 602 The consequences of the corporate marriage-arranging functions of the local descent group can be most easily seen in the lineage basis for village fissioning, shown in Fig. 3–4. Briefly, the politics of arringing marriages are such that local descent groups of lineage X will pair with similar groups of lineage Y, and largely confine their marriage exchanges to those groups. Putting it more simply, each local descent group of lineage X will pair off with one local descent group of lineage Y, and stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to that group. When the village fisions, the paired local descent groups will be more strongly bound to each other by marriage ties than each is to the other local descent groups of its own lineage.

VILLAGE FISSIONING Fig. 3–4 presents the structural basis of village fissioning in terms of paired local descent groups. Village A contains two lineages, X and Y. Each lineage has four local descent groups. For simplicity of presentation, only the male

M 582 602 601 [10] I obtained a nearly identical explanation of reciprocal marriage exchanges of this kind from one of the Makiritare Indians, northern neighbors to the Yąnomamö. The Carib-speaking Makiritare have a prescriptive bilateral cross-cousin marriage rule like the Yąnomamö. My informant told me, in Spanish: "It is necessary for a man to marry his *yeiamade* [their equivalent to the Yąnomamö category of *axabŏpa*]. In this fashion families become good friends because they marry with each other time after time. When you marry this way, you are good friends with your *wañya* [brother-in-law] and can play and joke with him. You are also good friends with your *wadima* [father-in-law]. If you marry a different way, you must be careful around your *wadima* and respect him."

Fig. 3–4. Distribution of paired local descent groups in village fissioning.

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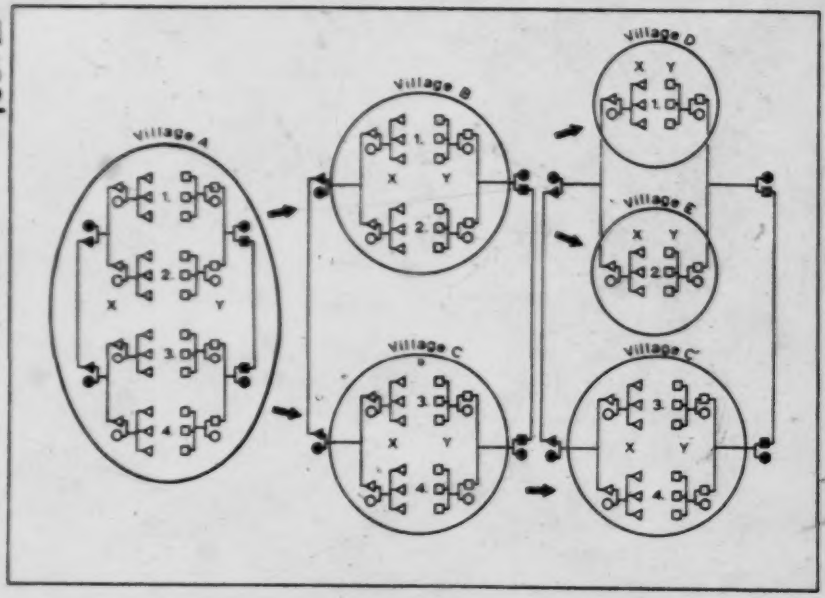

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members are shown. Each group is paired off with an equivalent local descent group of the opposite lineage, giving the four numbered pairs. When village A fissions to form villages B and C, lineages X and Y will break at the weakest points, resulting in the formation of two new villages that have an identical composition: Village B is like village C in size and contains two local descent groups of lineages X and Y; the two local descent groups of each lineage in both new villages are paired with the analogous group of the opposite lineage. Fig. 3–4 can be viewed as a diagram of the physical organization of the village. Thus, in village A the male members of lineage X would tend to live on one side of the village, while the males of lineage Y would live on the opposite side. In actual distribution, then, the village has a "diametric dual organization" (Lévi-Strauss, 1961, Chapter 8). The Yąnomamö, however, do not conceive of the village as having discrete halves. That is, they do not have formal rules enjoining the male members of lineage X to live on one side of the village. There are always residential exceptions to the arrangement shown in Fig. 3–4.

Village B fissions again, resulting in the further breakdown of lineages X and Y. The outcome, villages D and E, is essentially like the outcome of the fission in village A; that is, the resulting new villages are alike in composition, size, and structure. Village C has not fissioned and continues to exist as it did after separating from village B. A comparison of the three villages shown in the last step of Fig. 3–4 will reveal that D, E, and C′ are interrelated villages because patrilineages X and Y occur in each of them. The members of the patrilineages would still continue to call each other brother and sister, although they would be distributed in three different villages. The genealogical ties connecting villages D, E, and C′ have been drawn in to emphasize this relationship.

The reason that lineages break down in this fashion stems from the fact that remote agnatic ties are weaker than the marriage ties that link the paired local descent groups to each other. The strength of the affinal ties between paired local descent groups derives from the obligations of reciprocity in marriage exchanges. Thus, when village B fissioned, local descent group X-1 had stronger ties to Y-1 than it did to X-2. The result was that X-1 and Y-1 separated from X-2 and Y-2 to form their own village, D.[11]

Fig. 3–4 describes the "ideal" pattern of village fissioning. Fig. 3–5 shows the structure and composition of three actual Yąnomamö villages for comparison. As in Fig. 3–4, only the adult males are shown. The incomplete triangles of Upper Bisaasi-teri in Fig. 3–5 signify that the men in question do not live in that village, but they must be included in the diagram to show that their sons live in Upper Bisaasi-teri. The two men actually live in Patanowä-teri, the composition of which is not shown in Fig. 3–5. What has been shown is that the lineages *Hor* and *Sha* extend into Patanowä-teri. In fact, the population of that village is comprised largely of members of these two lineages. See Table 3–1. Only the adult male members of the villages are shown for the three villages in Fig. 3–5, since it is this class of men that dominates the political affairs of the village. For those interested in *all* the genealogical relationships between *all* the members of one of the villages (Lower Bisaasi-teri), see Chagnon, 1966, Figure 2 and Appendix A. As can be seen from Fig. 3–5, each village is characterized by a dual organization of intermarrying lineages. In 1960, Lower Bisaasi-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri were, in fact, a single village. It can be seen how local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage, for example,

[11]The pair "X-1 and Y-1" is represented on Fig. 3-4 simply by the numeral "1".

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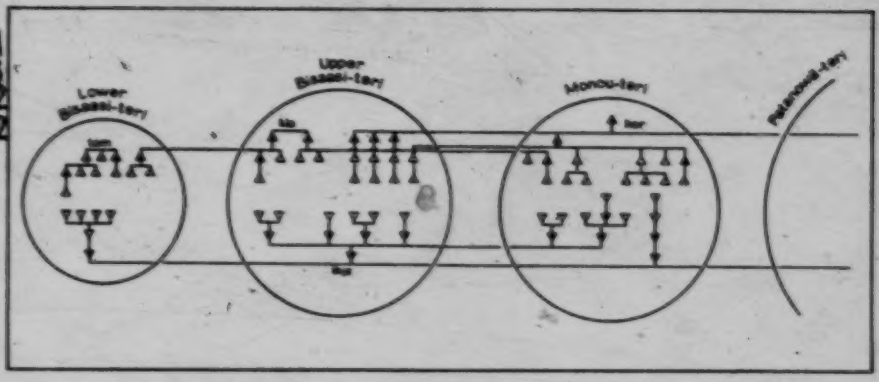

Fig. 3-5. Actual village fissioning.

separated from each other because of the ties each had to affinally linked descent groups of other lineages. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-teri is comprised essentially of two groups: a local descent group of the *Sha* lineage and a local descent group of the *Tom* lineage. Their members have exchanged women with each other for several generations, creating strong bonds of reciprocal obligations to continue to exchange in the future (Chagnon 1966). Similarly, the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in the two remaining villages shown in the figure are linked by affinal ties to other lineages.

Further back in history—1954—Monou-teri also constituted a portion of the village that included Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri (see Fig. 2-4, Chapter 2). Finally, the three villages shown on Fig. 3-5 constituted a single village with Patanowã-teri about 1940. The fissioning of the original village (and subsequent village fissioning) resulted in the distribution of local descent groups according to pairs, as shown in Fig. 3-4.[12]

Discrepancies in the Marriage Pattern

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I presented in considerable detail the relationship between actual behavior and ideal rules about behavior from a qualitative point of view. This was accomplished by comparing genealogical diagrams describing some actual examples to ideal models of marriage and village fissioning. I will now give some of the quantitative aspects of marriage behavior and the demographic and political bases of the actual marriage pattern.

Table 3-2 shows the distribution of marriage types found in two related villages.

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[12]In some areas of Brazil the pattern of village fissioning is slightly different. There, a local descent group may even establish its own house, separated from the wife-giving/wife-receiving member of the pair by as much distance as several miles. What I have been calling the "village" in this discussion breaks down, in portions of Brazil, into several "part-villages" that are not capable of carrying on an independent social existence. That is, members of the "part-village," the composition of which is essentially a single local descent group of one lineage, must obtain their wives from some other nonlocal group.

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fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kaobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yanomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yanomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

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most common way for a child's soul to escape is to leave by way of the mouth when the child cries. Thus, mothers are quick to hush a bawling baby in order to prevent its soul from escaping. The child's soul can be recovered by sweeping the ground in the vicinity where it most probably escaped, calling for it while sweeping the area with a particular kind of branch. I once helped gather up the soul of a sick child in this fashion, luring it back into the sick baby. One of the contributions I made, in addition to helping with the calling and sweeping, was a dose of medicine for the child's diarrhea. A consequence of this set of attitudes about the vulnerability of children is that much of the village's activity with respect to shamanism and curing is directed toward the children.

RELATIVES BY BLOOD AND BY MARRIAGE Many forms of interpersonal behavior stem largely from the social roles implied in the kinship system. To be sure, some kinship behavior reflects the two distinctions of age and sex discussed above, for the terminology of kinship itself employs discriminations of this kind. For example, there are terms to distinguish older siblings from younger siblings and terms used by members of one sex only in reference to those of the opposite sex.

The relationship between kinship terms and biological parentage is not the same in the Yąnomamö language as it is in our own. As was shown in the first section of this chapter, people may stand in a child relationship to a number of individuals; that is, it is possible to have multiple "mothers" and "fathers" in Yąnomamö society. The term for mother and father conveys as much of a social as a biological relationship between individuals, and in the daily activities of the Yąnomamö it is the social implications of kinship roles that are most important.

What is implied in the kinship roles can best be seen in the way the kinship terms themselves are formed. All primary kinship terms take the ending *"-mou"* when used to describe the relationship between individuals. Thus, *oiboya* means "my younger sibling," but *oiboumou* means that individual X *behaves* toward individual Y *as a younger sibling*. This ending, *-mou*, also occurs in nonkinship usage to express "a way of behaving," "to execute a particular activity in a specified manner," or "to perform the activity that is implied by the word to which *-mou* is affixed." For example, *oko* means fresh-water crab and *okomou* means "to go hunting for crabs"; *bowashi* means "a mischievous white monkey" and *bowashimou* means "to act mischievously, to monkey around"; *moua naha* means "enemy," and *moua nahamou* means "to become an enemy by behaving objectionably"; *waiteri* means "fierce" and *waiterimou* means "to behave ferociously."

Whenever I would ask the Yąnomamö a question such as, "What do you call Kąobawä?" the answers would always be in the form of a kinship term to which *"-mou"* was affixed, but rarely in the form "I say such-and-such to him." Calling an individual by a specific term is, however, implied in the "way of behaving" toward that individual. But despite the fact that the Yąnomamö can say, literally, "I call him father" (*kama kä iha, haya ya kau*), they invariably say *"ya bąimou"*—"I behave toward him as a child."[20] Thus, they express their relationships to others in terms of *ways of behavior*. Each kinship category implies a set of these behavioral norms, and one's social life in the community is established with respect to all other individuals by the kinship terminology employed in each particular case.

[20]Although the word *bąi* translates literally as "father," the expression *ya bąimou* can best be understood with the translation given above.

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New individuals are incorporated into the community by an extension of kinship ties. Unless one is incorporated into the village in this fashion, there is no basis for social behavior vis-à-vis others, for the kinship system defines one's role in society. An orphaned teen-ager joined Kąobawä's group shortly before I began my fieldwork. He was from a distant Shamatari village and had no blood relatives in Kąobawä's group. He established his position in the community by calling Kąobawä "father." This defined his relationship to all of Kąobawä's kinsmen as well. As an exercise in kinship, I had the young man give me his relationship term for everyone in the village. He not only had specific terms for every member of the group, but he had also extended them to all the residents of Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri as well, since Kąobawä was related to these people. In short, the boy learned how Kąobawä was related to all the members of three different villages and logically extended his own assumed relationship to Kąobawä outward to the others; and he behaved toward them accordingly: He avoided women he called mother-in-law and refrained from sexual activities with women he called sister.

To emphasize the fact that the kinship categories do not always correspond to biological relationships, let me give an example of an incestuous marriage. Kąobawä's younger brother, Shiimima, recently (1966) took a young girl for his wife, outraging most of the community because he "behaved toward her as brother" before the marriage. The girl's mother had been abducted some twenty years earlier from a distant village and was given to a man who stood in a father relationship to Kąobawä and Shiimima. Thus, both Kąobawä and Shiimima called the abducted woman "mother" and called her daughter "sister." The abducted woman's husband died of malaria; after this, she had a number of temporary affairs with other men before being officially taken as a wife by another man in the village. Her daughter is the issue of a temporary affair she had with the headman of Mahekodo-teri, the group that gave Kąobawä refuge after the treacherous feast in 1950. She is, therefore, biologically unrelated to Kąobawä and Shiimima, but since they behaved toward her as brothers, Shiimima's marriage to her is a blatant case of incest. The matter was as disgusting to my informants as it would have been had Shiimima married his own biological sister.

There are many important kinship distinctions in Yąnomamö social life, but the one between relatives by marriage and agnatic relatives should particularly be emphasized. This distinction is at the basis of Yąnomamö political behavior and village fissioning. This point was emphasized in the discussion of village fissioning and marriage rules in the first section of this chapter.

One of the most important characteristics of affinal ties is that they are capable of growing in strength over time because they can be solidified and reinforced by marriage exchanges between the groups. Ties between agnates, on the other hand, tend to weaken over time. For example, Kąobawä's local descent group could renew its friendship to similar affinally related groups in the village of Patanowä-teri by entering into marriage exchanges with them once again. There is no way, however, in which his own descent group could reinforce or strengthen the agnatic ties with the local descent groups of the *Sha* lineage in Patanowä-teri. By marrying into the affinally related Patanowä-teri descent groups, Kąobawä's group would enter into direct competition with agnatic counterparts in that village, further straining the relationships between the two communities.

There is another way of looking at this situation. Men who are related to each other as agnates (for example, brothers and parallel cousins) get along well with each

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other when they are children and young men. As time passes and these men become old enough to seek wives, members of the groups to which they belong enter into competition with each other. The men themselves are under some pressure to display their personal autonomy, and they treat each other with considerable reserve as they get older. They cannot boss each other around or expect many favors from one another. Kaobawä, for example, cannot ask his adult brothers to perform menial tasks for him. This is because each man—particularly those men who compete for the same women—attempts to convince all others that he is capable of ferocity. The more remote the genealogical distance, the greater is the reserve with which mature agnates treat each other. That is, distant parallel cousins would behave toward each other with considerably more reserve than would actual brothers, although the men in question are all related to each other terminologically as brothers. If such men live in different villages, their mutual relationships are even more reserved when they meet.

The relationship between men who call each other brother-in-law, however, grows more intimate as the men get older. They can play and joke with each other, whereas agnates cannot, for they are not competitors and are not constrained to exhibit their fierceness to each other. They can cement their relationships to each other by merely promising to give their daughters to each other's sons. They can ask favors of each other, expecting them to be done without complaint.

Kaobawä's relationships to two men in his village illustrate the distinction between agnates and affines. Both men joined his group from the village of Patanowä-teri some time after Kaobawä's group separated from the village. One of the men, Nadesiwä, is related to him agnatically: they call each other "brother" because their fathers were half-brothers. Nadesiwä is in Kaobawä's local descent group, but is not quite on a par with the other members in the political affairs of the group. The other men in the group—Kaobawä and his closer brothers—put pressure on Nadesiwä to give his only daughter to a man in a distant Shamatari village for the purpose of stabilizing an alliance. This was a considerable sacrifice for him to make, as his daughter, after the completion of bride service, will have to live in her husband's village—Nadesiwä will have no coresident son-in-law to provide him with meat when he gets old. Kaobawä and Nadesiwä treat each other with respect and great reserve and do not ask each other for favors.

The other man, Kumanawä, is Bahimi's actual brother; Kaobawä is related to him, therefore, as an affine as well as by cognatic kinship ties. That is, they are first cross-cousins by blood and also related to each other by marriage. Kumanawä is a frequent visitor in Kaobawä's house and enthusiastically executes the numerous tasks that Kaobawä asks of him. They are members of different local descent groups, but their groups are related to each other by marriage exchanges that go back several generations. In short, Kaobawä's personal ties to his brother-in-law are warmer and friendlier than his relationship to one of the members of his own local descent group.

Daily Activities

Kaobawä's village is oval-shaped. His house is located among those of his agnatic kinsmen; they occupy a continuous arc along one side of the village. Each of the

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156 622 578 his group was being trounced by their opponents, largely because only a few of the men were doing all the fighting for Kąobawä's group. These men were forced to take several turns in rapid succession, while a large number of men stood by and watched. The fighters wanted to escalate the battle to a duel with axes, hoping to intimidate their opponents into conceding. Kąobawä quickly forced the idle men to participate in the chest pounding, thereby distributing the punishment a little more evenly and reducing the possibility of a bloodier confrontation.

After the duel was over, Kąobawä coolly discussed the fight with the leaders in the opponents' group, explaining that he did not intend to raid them unless they raided first. A number of men in the village, notably Paruriwä and some of his followers, shouted threats at the departing opponents that they would shoot them on sight should they meet again. Paruriwä frequently boasted like this, but rarely put himself in a position that was potentially dangerous. He later ran into a party of hunters from the above-mentioned group while he was leading a raid against the Patanowä-teri. Instead of shooting them on sight as he threatened to do (they could have shot back, as they were armed), he traded arrows with them and rapidly retreated. He boasted in the village how he had terrified these men. I later visited their village and learned that Paruriwä was the one who was terrified. They themselves continued to hunt, while Paruriwä fled for home.

156 622 602 [157] Kąobawä's personality differs considerably from Paruriwä's. Where the former is unobtrusive, calm, modest, and perceptive, the latter is belligerent, aggressive, ostentatious, and rash. Kąobawä has an established status in the village and numerous supporters, whose loyalties are in part determined by their kinship ties and in part because he is a wise leader. Paruriwä is attempting to share in the leadership and does not have a well-established position in this respect. It is obvious who the real leader is: When visitors come to Upper Bisaasi-teri, they seek out Kąobawä and deal with him, no matter how ambitiously Paruriwä attempts to emulate his position. Paruriwä does not have as many living brothers in his group as Kąobawä has, so his "natural following" is somewhat limited. In addition, two of his brothers are married to actual sisters of Kąobawä and have some loyalty to him. Paruriwä, therefore, has very little means with which to establish his position, so he is given over to using bluff, threat, chicanery, and treachery. This he does well, and many of the young men in the village admire him for it. He has gained the support of some of these men by promising them his wives' yet unborn daughters. Remarkably enough, some of them cling to these promises and do his bidding.

622 726 Finally, one of Kąobawä's most unpleasant tasks is to scout the village neighborhood when signs of raiders have been found. This he does alone, since it is a dangerous task and one that is avoided by the other men. Not even Paruriwä participates in this.

Kąobawä has definite responsibilities as the headman and is occasionally called upon by the nature of the situation to exercise his authority. He is usually distinguishable in the village as a man of some authority only for the duration of the incident that calls forth his leadership capacity. After the incident is over, he goes about his own business like the other men in the group. But even then, he sets an example for the others, particularly in his ambitions to produce large quantities of food for his family and for the guests he must entertain. Most of the time he leads only by example and the others follow if it pleases them to do so. They can ignore his example if they wish, but most of the people turn to him when a difficult situation arises.

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*628 722 241 562 581 582

The beleaguered partner may be obliged to remain in the village of his host for a year or longer, approximately the length of time required to establish a new plantation and productive base from which an independent existence is possible. Twice in the recent history of Kąobawä's group they were driven from their gardens by more powerful enemies and were forced to take refuge in the village of an ally. In each case the group remained with the ally for a year or so, moving away only after their new garden began producing. In both cases, the hosts demanded and received a number of women from Kąobawä's group without reciprocating in kind, a prerogative they exercised from their temporary position of strength. The longer the group takes advantage of a hosts' protection, the higher is the cost in terms of women, so visitors always make an attempt to establish their gardens as quickly as possible and move into them as soon as they begin producing. Without allies, therefore, the members of a village would either have to remain at their single garden and sustain the attacks of their enemies or disband into several smaller groups and join larger villages on a permanent basis, losing many of their women to their protectors. The jungle simply does not produce enough wild foods to sustain larger groups, and the threat of warfare is such that smaller groups would soon be discovered by their enemies and exterminated.

Because of the ever-present risk of being driven from one's garden, therefore, no Yąnomamö village can continue to exist as a sovereign entity without establishing alliances with other groups. Warfare is attended by a bellicose ideology which asserts that strong villages should take advantage of weaker ones and coerce them out of women; to prevent this, all villages should therefore behave as if they were strong. Thus, the military threat creates a situation in which intervillage alliance is desirable, but at the same time spawns a military ideology that inhibits the formation of such alliances: Allies need but cannot trust each other. They are obliged to behave aggressively in order to display their respective strength.

*628 438 574 581 582 602

Alliances between villages are the product of a developmental sequence that involves casual trading, mutual feasting, and finally the exchange of women. The most intimate allies are those who, in addition to trading and feasting, exchange women. Any developing alliance may stabilize at the trading or feasting stage without proceeding to the woman-exchange phase. These are weak alliances, but serve to limit the degree of war that might possibly obtain between the villages so related: The Yąnomamö tend to avoid attacking those villages with which they trade and feast, unless some specific incident, such as the abduction of a woman, provokes them. Allies that are linked by trade and feasting ties, for example, rarely accuse each other of practicing harmful magic. Allies bound to each other by affinal kinship ties, however, are more interdependent because they are under obligation to each other to continue to exchange women. It is, in fact, by the exchange of women that independent villages extend kinship ties to each other.

*628 562 581 582

Members of allied villages are usually reluctant to take the final step in alliance formation and cede women to their partners, for they are always worried that the latter might not reciprocate as promised. This attitude is especially conspicuous in smaller villages, for their larger partners in defense pressure them into demonstrating their solidarity by ceding women; the strong can and do coerce the weak in Yąnomamö politics. The weak, therefore, are compelled to exaggerate their strength by bluff and intimidation and by attempting in general to appear to be stronger, militarily, than they really are, thereby hoping to convince their partners that they are equals, capable of an independent

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neutral. The treacherous feast for their Shamatari enemies proved to be unsuccessful: The intended victims had accepted the invitation, but were informed of the plot just before they arrived. One of the Reyaboböwei-teri who had close kinsmen among them had misgivings about the matter and warned them.

Late in the afternoon it was learned that the Mahekodo-teri were, in fact, in the vicinity of the village, allegedly on a "camping trip." Kaobawä, of course, suspected their story, but to demonstrate his friendship he invited them to be his guests at a feast. As he and his men had been away for nearly two weeks, there was an abundance of food in their gardens and they could easily afford to entertain the Mahekodo-teri and their traveling companions, the Boreta-teri. Together, the guests numbered about 100—after they fetched their women and children.

This sets the stage for the feast in the kind of context that makes it more intelligible: The specific historical relationships between the participants and the nature of their mutual mistrust. Now I will give the details of the events that followed.

The Feast

Perhaps because he suspected the Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri of intimidation, Kaobawä also invited the Karohi-teri to attend the feast. They are a small but dependable ally and had themselves separated from the Mahekodo-teri many years ago. This established a balance of power at the projected feast should any trouble arise, for the combination of both Boreta-teri and Mahekodo-teri was of sufficient strength to worry any host. With the aid of the Karohi-teri, Kaobawä's group was more of a match for the visitors.

The feast started out on a sour note. It is the custom of the Yanomamö visitors to arrive only after an invitation from their hosts, sent by messenger on the day of the feast. The Mahekodo-teri and Boreta-teri, however, arrogantly arrived nearly a week before Kaobawä's group was prepared to receive them and set up a large, temporary camp a short distance from the village. They were guests and could legitimately demand to be fed. Because of this, Kaobawä and his covillagers were under obligation to feed them, some hundred or so people, and took them to the gardens to supply them with enough plantains to last a week. Kaobawä was a little disturbed that they would be so impolite as to arrive uninvited, but took the situation quite philosophically. After all, they had fed his group for the better part of a year.

He and several other men cut a large quantity of plantains, which were hung in his house and allowed to ripen for a week, to be boiled into *date*, a thick, sweet soup, on the day of the feast. That afternoon Kaobawä and a few of the older men commissioned a hunting party comprised of young men, several of whom were Kaobawä's brothers, whose responsibility would be to obtain a large quantity of fresh meat to give to the visitors on the day after the feast. Most of them were reluctant to go, as their feet were still sore from the trip to the Shamatari village. A few of them claimed to be sick and managed to escape recruitment into the hunting party in this way. This hunt, with the hanging of the plantains in the headman's house, initiated the feast. The excitement that usually attends a feast began at this time.

That evening the young men danced and sang in the village, an institution called *amoamo*, thereby insuring themselves with luck on the hunt. (The Yanomamö also

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164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [622] village, a brother of Kaobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yanamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kaobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

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Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kaobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yanomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Stätwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

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One of
Damowä's brothers—who also participated in this raid—was married to one of the victim's daughters.

The Monou-teri had anticipated their raid by clearing a new garden site across the Mavaca River, where they hoped to take refuge after the inevitable revenge raids from Patanowä-teri began. They had hoped to complete their garden before the raids became intense, as the Mavaca River would have provided a natural obstacle to raiders. The Patanowä-teri, however, were infuriated by this killing and raided the Monou-teri immediately. Two of the raiders were Damowä's "brothers."

The raiders caught Damowä outside the new garden searching for honey. This was in the first week of February. He had two of his wives with him and one child. He was looking up a tree when the raiders shot a volley of arrows into his body, at least five of which struck him in the abdomen. He managed to nock one of his own arrows and shoot at the raiders, although he was probably mortally wounded at the time. Then Bishewä, one of the raiders, shot a final arrow at Damowä, piercing his neck below his ear. He fell to the ground and died after being struck by this arrow.

The raiders did not attempt to abduct the women, as they were close to the Monou-teri campsite and they had to cross the Mavaca River to escape. The women ran back to the village to tell the others what happened. Instead of giving chase, as they ought to have done—according to Kąobawä and the others in Bisaasi-teri—the Monou-teri themselves fled into the jungle and hid until darkness, afraid that the raiders might return.

The man who fired the fatal arrow into Damowä's neck was a son of the man the Monou-teri shot in their raid. Two of the men who shot Damowä were his classificatory brothers (members of the same lineage), three were brothers-in-law (including the man who shot the fatal arrow), and one was a man who had been adopted into the Patanowä-teri village as a child, after he and his mother were abducted from a distant Shamatari village.

The Monou-teri burned the corpse of Damowä the next day. They held a mortuary ceremony that week and invited their allies, members of the two Shamatari villages and the two groups of Bisaasi-teri, to participate. Gourds of the dead man's ashes were given to specific men in several of the allied villages, an act calculated to reaffirm solidarity and friendship. Damowä's widows were given to his two eldest surviving brothers.

Kąobawä, a classificatory brother to Damowä, assumed the responsibility of organizing a revenge raid. Damowä's own brothers failed to step forward to assume this responsibility, and for a while there was no leadership whatsoever in Monou-teri. Finally, Orusiwä, the oldest and most competent member of the *Hør* lineage, emerged as the *de facto* village leader, a position he acquired largely by default. He was related to the slain headman as brother-in-law, and their respective descent groups dominated village politics.[2] Hence, leadership in Monou-teri shifted from the *Shø* lineage to the *Hør* lineage.

Kąobawä delayed the revenge raid until April, giving the Monou-teri time to expand their new garden. This date also coincided with the beginning of the rains, thus reducing the possibility of a retaliation until the next dry season and providing the Monou-teri even more time to expand their new garden and abandon the old one.

The Monou-teri were afraid to return to their producing garden, so they divided their time between their newly cleared site, where they worked at cutting timber and

[2]See Table 3-1 and Fig. 3-5 of Chapter 3 for the lineage composition of Monou-teri.

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he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be rendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri, but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

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